Postscript to The Outlook for August 25

The destruction of the Arabic occurred after the editorial forms of The Outlook had gone to press; the importance of the event is such that this supplementary sheet is added

THE ARABIC—GERMANY'S ANSWER

The Outlook Office,
Friday morning, August 20, 1915.

BY sinking the Arabic, Germany has repeated the crime of the Lusitania. All testimony the day after the event is that there was no warning. If that is established, all other facts are subsidiary. The sinking of the Arabic is piracy on a huge scale, and the pirate is a nation.

Are Americans willing that our Government's solemn warnings shall be reduced by inaction to empty threats? If they are not willing, then they should insist that the Government act.

Let it be remembered that what we are to hold Germany accountable for is not merely loss of American lives. If civilization is to be preserved in spite of warfare, then war must be confined to conflict between armed forces. The deliberate killing of non-combatants is not warfare; it is crime. And the killing of non-combatants (whether Americans or not) on the high seas, which are the common property of all mankind, is crime against all mankind, America included.

There are at least three special reasons why America should act in the face of such crimes as these committed by Germany:

First, and least important, America should have consideration for her own future safety. If the United States is ever forced into war, neither the American Government nor the American people would countenance for a moment attacks without warning on peaceful merchantmen of the enemy by American submarines. America can, therefore, not afford to allow a precedent to be established which would seem to offer a shadow of justification for any future enemy to do to her what Germany is doing to Germany's enemies.

Second, and much more important, if the public law of nations is to be preserved by enforcement during war, it can be preserved only by neutral nations. The enemy of a nation that is violating that law cannot do more than he is doing already to restrain the offender unless he resorts to reprisals—and reprisals, so far from being a remedy, simply extend the evil. It is therefore only a neutral that can bring new pressure to bear. America as the leading neutral Nation is thus charged with the grave duty of restraining just such crimes as that committed against the Arabic, even if there are no Americans lost.

Third, and most important of all, America is committed to the principle of co-operation among nations in the interest of common humanity. This means nothing at all unless Americans are willing to make sacrifices for this principle. "It is upon this principle of humanity," said the President's note of June 9, "as well as upon the law founded upon this principle, that the United States must stand." If this country is to conform to the standard which it has set itself by its traditions and which the President has thus stated, it must show its faith not by what it says only but by what it does.

Action, we have said and we here repeat, does not necessarily mean war.

More effective and more rational than entering upon war at once would be the adoption of a policy of non-intercourse. Germany, by her piratical course, has made of herself a criminal and outlaw among nations; let her be ostracized, isolated, shunned. There are several ways of adopting such a policy.

America may sever diplomatic relations with Germany.

Or, America may cut off all trade with Germany.

Or, America may make the announcement that, as she is no longer accorded the rights of a neutral, she will no longer observe the restraints of a neutral, and will therefore open her ports to the fleets of Germany's enemies, put an attachment on German merchantmen in American harbors, and in every way act on the principle that Germany has forfeited all rights to be regarded as a civilized belligerent.

That this is not a warlike or militaristic attitude is clear enough from the fact that it is

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along this line of isolating Germany as a recalcitrant member of the family of nations that a proposal is made in the "New Republic" by one of the foremost of pacifists—Norman Angell. In meeting objections, Mr. Angell says:

It will be said that by the proposed action America would have sacrificed her neutrality and created a state of war with Germany. Of course; and if Germany cared to avail herself of existing international law to insist on that point, it would simplify America's action. But it would be an academic point raised by Germany. She could hardly oblige America to send troops to Europe; and just for the moment she is not in a position to send troops here. . . . And why should America worry as to the precise meaning which Germany may attach to "a state of war"?

In adopting this policy of non-intercourse, whether in the form Mr. Angell suggests or in the other forms which we have on other occasions outlined, America should invite the co-operation of other neutral nations. Our Government should not call for a conference of neutrals—that would mean delay, confusion, debate; but should settle on its policy promptly, put it into operation, and at the same time request that all other neutral nations join us. Germany has defied the rest of the world. Let America do her part in seeing that Germany, as long as she persists in her course, is treated as an outcast.

THE STORY OF THE CRIME

Off the southern Irish coast, about fifty miles west of the spot where the bones of the Lusitania are lying, a German submarine sank the White Star liner Arabic—except for the giant Cunarder the largest of the 285 merchant vessels that have been sent to the bottom by *Unterseeboten* since the German war zone went into effect on February 18.

As this is written, twenty-four hours after the disaster, it is reported that of the 423 persons that the Arabic was carrying—181 passengers and 242 members of the crew—eight are missing and are believed to have perished, including four of the twenty-five Americans on the vessel's passenger list.

With fair weather and a quiet sea, about nine o'clock on the morning of August 19 the Arabic, on her way to New York, and therefore not carrying munitions, was standing well off the Irish coast for the purpose of avoiding submarines, when the attention of those aboard her was attracted to another vessel, presumed to be the British steamer Dunsley, which was being attacked by a German under-sea boat. As the Dunsley was struck, fearing that their turn would be next, those passengers of the White Star liner who were already on deck began to help themselves from the life-preservers that had been piled near at hand. The lifeboats had been swung out-board and the fastenings of the life rafts loosened when the ship had left the Mersey.

Returning to the side of their vessel to watch the plight of the Dunsley, several passengers on the Arabic distinctly saw the streaking white wake of a torpedo roll out from a point near the Dunsley toward their own doomed ship. The torpedo struck the Arabic on the starboard side one hundred feet from the stern. There was a terrific explosion, which stove a huge hole in the ship and killed several of the crew working below decks.

Several lifeboats and rafts were quickly lowered, and, thanks to the coolness of passengers and crew, nearly all of the persons aboard the ship had found a place in one of these emergency craft when the Arabic settled to the bottom, eleven minutes after she received her death-blow.

Many of the passengers on the Arabic were in their berths when the torpedo blew in the side of their ship, and as they did not have time to put on more than the scantiest clothing several of them were weak from exposure when they reached Queenstown.

Several efforts have been made to destroy the Arabic. Not only was she long hunted by submarines, but on the day before her departure from New York on her last eastward trip two sticks of dynamite were found aboard her, and while the vessel was in Liverpool in June six fires were discovered at various places on the ship. Captain Finch is said to have predicted that if the submarines "got him" at all it would be on the westward trip when he would have nothing in his cargo of much use to the Allies.

Although as this is written only meager information of the disaster is available, two important points seem to be well established: The Arabic carried no contraband, and the submarine gave her no warning. It was no fault of the commander of the submarine that every soul on the steamer was not lost.

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The Outlook

AUGUST 25, 1915

Offices, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York

THE STORY OF THE WAR: RUSSIA STILL RETREATING

The Russian armies are now somewhat behind the positions which it was originally planned would be their first line of defense on the outbreak of the war a year ago. These positions for many miles follow the line of the Niemen and Bug Rivers. The defense of the Vistula frontier, which the fall of Warsaw finally made untenable, was undertaken only at the behest of the Czar's allies, who protested that for him to fall back to the Bug and Niemen would be playing into the Kaiser's hands by giving the latter valuable days for the campaign against France before he was forced to deal with Russia.

Nevertheless, present indications are that the Russians are soon likely to find even the Niemen-Bug line untenable. As this is written, Kovno, on the Niemen, has fallen, and Brest-Litovsk, the keystone of the positions on the Bug, is hard pressed, and the military critics of the allied nations are trying to discount the importance of the German gains. It is a mistake to do this. The loss of Kovno is likely to be particularly serious to the Grand Duke Nicholas, for it apparently opens the way for the German left to cross the Niemen and threaten the flank and rear of the Russian right.

One feature of the Grand Duke's strategy has set all military experts to wondering. This is the abandonment of the garrison of Novo Georgievsk to its fate. This fortress is now a Slavic island beaten upon by the angry waves of a flooding Teutonic sea. It is difficult to understand the Grand Duke's policy in leaving a large garrison in this fortress to be isolated and cut off, unless he is very confident that the tide of battle is about to turn and that the garrison of Novo Georgievsk by stabbing sorties can hamstring the German armies in their retreat. The fate that fell on the cooped-up army of Marshal Bazaine at Metz in 1870 was a lesson to all commanders in the dangers of holding too long to a fortified position which the enemy is slowly enveloping.

The Germans have at last reached and cut the Warsaw-Petrograd railway where it meets the road from Lukow to Ostrolenka. But the cat was out of the bag before the strings were pulled, and only a few kittens—the Russian garrisons and small roving forces left near the Vistula front and in the old Warsaw salient—will be found when the bag is searched.

GERMANY AND THE BALKANS

Although there is no evidence of any diminution in the strength of the Teutonic blows on Russia, the bombardment of Belgrade has given rise to the suspicion that the Austro-Germans will direct their next offensive at Servia, which for several months has had little to fight but pestilence—a formidable enough foe in all conscience. Rumania, which recently reiterated her refusal to let German ammunition pass through her territory to Turkey, feels the impending peril hardly less than Servia, and is reported to have called out four new divisions of reserves. Bulgaria is still waiting for a reply to her offer of aid to the Allies in return for grants of Macedonian territory by Greece and Servia. Politics are at the boiling-point in Greece, where former Premier Venizelos has been asked to form a new Cabinet following the King's acceptance of the resignation of the Gounaris anti-war Ministry. In fact, the growing tension in the Balkans was the outstanding feature of the week. This situation is treated extensively in an article elsewhere in this issue of The Outlook.

The sinking of the British transport Royal Edward by a German submarine in the Ægean Sea is not in itself very important, although the thousand men who were drowned were wanted immediately as reinforcements to the hard-worked Twenty-ninth Division, which has been on the Gallipoli Peninsula since the first landing there by the expeditionary force of British. The moral aspects of the Royal Edward's loss outweigh the material. The feat of the under-sea boat is a great blow to the prestige

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of the British navy, which up to this event had not acknowledged the loss of a single transport, although more than seven hundred thousand men have been shipped from England into France, to say nothing of the large number that have crossed the seas from Canada, Australia, India, and New Zealand, and that have been sent out to the Dardanelles, Egypt, and South Africa.

The success of this German submarine may divert the attention of other *Unterseeboten* from the hunting of merchant ships to the pursuit of transports, which falls properly within the scope of submarine activity.

THE GERMAN CAMPAIGN AGAINST AMERICAN NEUTRALITY

More dramatic than any intrinsic development of the war during the week was the exposure of the systematic campaign conducted in this country by agents of the German Government to upset the neutrality of this country, hamper the efforts of the Allies to get supplies here, and secure control of important munitions manufactories in America for the Fatherland. For this timely revelation of the unscrupulous and colossal machinations of Germany the public can thank the New York "World," whose acquisition and publication of the alleged facts of the conspiracy, after efforts that must have partaken of the nature of the activities of a secret service bureau, illustrate the vast scope and enterprise of modern journalism.

The revelations are based on a number of letters and other documents which the "World" has published. Unless the signatures on these papers are forgeries, it has been proved that through agents, including personages of importance in this country and Germany (names and photographic facsimiles of letters are printed, without so far any evidence to prove their falsity), the German Government sought to promote sedition and pro-German sentiment in the United States, secretly buy up and control newspapers and magazines in America to further the interests of Germany by "subtlety of representation," bring about strikes in plants turning out munitions for the Allies by the free distribution of money among labor leaders, and gain control of several factories making munitions of war, including three that produce practically the entire American output of liquid chlorine, for shipment to Germany through secret channels.

Among the documents in evidence published by the "World" is correspondence between Dr. Heinrich F. Albert, chief financial agent of the German Government in this country, and George Sylvester Viereck, editor of the "Fatherland," a weekly magazine published in New York which was established soon after the beginning of the war with the open intention of presenting Germany's case to the American people. This correspondence makes it apparent that Germany had begun steps toward securing the control of the "Fatherland" with the idea of determining the entire policy of the paper. Mr. Viereck was apparently to receive $1,750 a month, for in his letter to Dr. Albert dated June 29 he says, "As I have already received $250 this month, I inclose a statement for $1,500 for June." Dr. Albert's letter in reply says that "from the moment when we guarantee you a regular advance I must—1. Have a new statement of the condition of your paper. 2. Practice a control over the financial management." Mr. Viereck says these proposals were rejected.

THE INFLUENCE OF GERMAN GOLD

Another interesting exhibit is a communication from the Imperial German Chancellor through his Foreign Office to Count von Bernstorff, which the Count forwarded to Captain Franz von Papen, the military attaché of the German Embassy, in which it is made plain that the German Government paid the expenses of Mr. Edward Lyall Fox, an American journalist, during the course of a visit by Mr. Fox to Germany a few months ago, and in which it is urged that the "German Information Service" make an additional outlay of "between 5,000 and 6,000 marks" for another German trip by this writer, so great was his previous "benefit to us by reason of his good despatches." There is also evidence that the Germans were trying or had tried to purchase or control the New York "Evening Mail," the American Press Association, the Bridgeport Projectile Company, the Wright aeroplane factories at Dayton, Ohio, and other manufactories of munitions of war and of public opinion not here enumerated.

More important, however, is evidence that, while Germany was openly protesting against the British blockade which interfered with trade between the Fatherland and the United States, she was secretly engaged in holding up imports to the United States from Ger-

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many in order that in their inconvenience American business men might bring pressure to bear on their Government which would lead to a protest by the United States against the British Orders in Council.

More damaging to Germany's repute in America than any of these things is evidence that seems to prove the correctness of the intimations of Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, and others, to the effect that German capital was being used in efforts "to corrupt men for the purpose of having strikes inaugurated." A German agent named C. Dencker is alleged to have written to his Embassy at Washington urging the necessity of calling "into being a strike in the munitions factories of Detroit, Cleveland, and Cincinnati," which, "according to our estimates . . . could be done for about $50,000." With this note the agent of the Kaiser forwarded a letter from an alleged labor leader in Detroit, who signed himself "C. W. M'Lane," in which the writer inquired if the Germans would be "interested in a plan for precipitating a general strike of all the automobile workers, including the allied industries in this city."

NOT AMERICAN TREASON BUT GERMAN STUPIDITY

It is reported that the patience of the Washington Administration has given way at last before the cumulative irritation of the unneutral propaganda of Germans and German-Americans in this country, and that the Department of Justice is considering the feasibility of bringing action against some of the agents of the Kaiser for violation of the neutrality laws and possibly of other statutes. It seems doubtful, however, whether the evidence that has been thus far brought to light furnishes sufficient basis for criminal prosecution of anybody. Certainly it is a mistake to accuse any one connected with the German propaganda of treason, as some newspapers have done. The New York "Sun" has done well to point out the distinction between treason and sedition or disloyalty. The Constitution of the United States expressly says:

"Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid or comfort."

It is certain that none of the acts recounted by the "World" constitute treason. There is some reason to believe that some of them would furnish a basis for legal action under the neutrality laws. But two things are as plain as a pikestaff. The first is that in its conduct of this energetic and thoroughgoing but amazingly stupid propaganda the Germans have finally demonstrated their inability to understand the temper of the American people. The second is that, aside from all questions of the violation of the laws of America, the conduct of the German Embassy has been decidedly violative of the spirit and usages of diplomacy. Many an Ambassador has lost his diplomatic head for conduct less unfriendly, not to say unintelligent, than that which has lately marked the career of Count von Bernstorff, if the allegations of the "World" are only half true.

THE APPEAL TO MEXICO

The note sent last week to prominent military and political leaders in Mexico, under the signatures of the Secretary of State of the United States and the Ambassadors and Ministers to this country of six Central and South American countries called into conference over the Mexican question, is in substance an appeal and remonstrance. In tone it has been truly as well as humorously described by one newspaper comment as "wistful;" it seems a prelude to a new era of wistful waiting rather than to combined action in the near future. Nothing further from the nature of an ultimatum could be imagined. Even Carranza, who in advance of the note's publication fulminated against any kind of outside interference in Mexican affairs, is now said to be willing to let the appeal go to the leaders in his territory.

The note itself, "in the most sincere spirit of American fraternity," asks Mexicans to realize the "dissolving effects of strife" on Mexican safety, security, and prestige. It appeals to the leaders "to save their mother country from an abyss" and to help in "opening the way to some saving action." Specifically, it states the belief (not, one notes, demands or even asks) that the Mexican military and political leaders should meet in some place "far from the sound of cannon," and in effect talk things over, and adopt the first steps which might lead to an ultimate general and constitutional election. Finally, the signatories offer to aid, if requested, in arranging such a conference. The most drastic phrase is that in which it is stated that ten days will

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be considered a reasonable time for replies to the note.

All this is commendable; but, frankly, after the preliminary reports from Washington as to a new policy and as to the bringing of pressure to bear upon Mexico, one is irresistibly reminded of the proverb about the mountain and the mouse. As we write, no official replies have been received. Carranza, whatever his reply may be (if he sends one), is now as ever bitterly opposed to any American or other "foreign" participation—"meddling" he calls it. He maintains that his faction is in the ascendency, will soon defeat utterly its enemies, and alone will proceed to establish a permanent government. Villa, as at present the "under dog" in the fight, is probably willing at least to talk about conferring; but that he is still at heart the ex-bandit is shown by his execution on August 15, according to despatches from Chihuahua, of eight prominent Mexicans, including an ex-Governor of the State of Chihuahua, Guillermo Terrazas, grandson of Luis Terrazas, once Mexico's greatest landowner, and other non-military men. Meanwhile border troubles on the American frontier increase, one or more American soldiers have been shot, the people of our States next to Mexico are perturbed, and Mexico itself is still a hotbed of revolution and lawlessness.

Whatever the present effort toward "helping Mexicans to help themselves" may or may not accomplish, the fact should be recognized that, although it is commonly called the A B C plan, it is entirely different from what was originally meant by that phrase—and not only different but vastly less effective. To hold a Pan-American conference, as the newspapers are quite generally and quite incorrectly naming what has lately taken place, or a semi-Pan-American conference as it might more correctly be called, is good in so far as it recognizes a common interest of the stable American countries in a vexing and mutually important problem. But, apart from this, a conference or congress means debate, appeals, argument, whereas what is needed is moral coercion, to be followed, if necessary, by physical enforcement. If, by agreement of the three or four great Southern republics with the United States—an agreement reached by the usual diplomatic methods (whether by treaty or not is unessential)—Mexico were to be informed that her factions *must* within a given time get together and establish, or at least take hopeful measures to establish, a recognizable government, and that, if they refused or failed, the work would have to be carried on from the outside, there would be a genuine "A B C" undertaking. Very likely we could not secure the consent of the A B C countries to this action. If not, the United States might have to act alone; in the opinion of many, if not most, of those who have studied the question, this country will inevitably sooner or later have to act alone. With all good wishes toward the new policy of wistful waiting, it is to be remembered that Mexican generals are not precisely the kind of people to be seriously disturbed by mild remonstrances.

HARD COAL: THE MINER, THE RAILWAY, AND THE CONSUMER

By an order of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, issued the other day, the railways which carry hard coal are directed to reduce their freight rates. All the large railways which carry anthracite are affected, some more, some less, and it is estimated that, in all, their revenues will be reduced about eight million dollars a year. Naturally the roads protest; they call the order confiscatory, say that the rates for anthracite are not excessive, and urge that the Inter-State Commerce Commission in its present action is inconsistent with its recent admission that Eastern railways were entitled to a general increase in freight rates because of business conditions and the high cost of living to railways as well as to people at large. The third party to this question of anthracite is the consumer—and in the case of coal that means every one. At first the consumer read with joy of this decision; he saw in his mind's eye lower coal bills in the near future. But with singular unanimity the representatives of the railway, the large coal dealers, and the newspapers held out little hope to the consumer that he would ultimately benefit. Now, the eight million dollars cut off the freight must go somewhere; if the consumer does not get it, it will either be added to the price of the coal at the mine, or it will be absorbed by the wholesalers through a common agreement which should be impossible unless there is something very much like a tacit contract in restraint of trade, or the retail dealers will get it—which will obviously be impossible if free competition in the sale exists. In any one of these three cases there is certainly ground for the Inter-State Commerce Commission to look

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closely into the situation and to guard the interest of the poor consumer—and the poorer he is the more he feels the pinch of excessive prices for coal.

The decision just rendered very plainly shows that in the opinion of the Inter-State Commerce Commission there is still such a common interest in the mining of coal, the carrying of coal, and probably the selling of coal, that the rights of independent competitors and of consumers should be guarded. The decision speaks, for instance, of concessions and offsets granted by the railways to their allied coal companies, and calls them in effect rebates forbidden by law; it orders the railway companies to give independent shippers a better chance to compete; it orders the railways to discontinue the practice of letting their allied companies use piers and docks at inadequate rents; it calls attention to the admission of counsel that the anthracite rates not only pay the cost chargeable to coal traffic but part of the general cost of the whole traffic; and the decision in so many words declares that the railways by their conduct admit that their tariff on anthracite is excessive.

It is significant that the decision lays stress on the fact that the coal-mining companies in many cases do not pay dividends. This brings out the crucial fact in the anthracite situation: So long as the same persons or the same interests are at one and the same time in control as stockholders in the companies which mine the coal and in the companies which carry the coal, it makes not a particle of difference to them whether they get their profits, all from the mining companies, or all from the carrying companies, or partly from one and partly from the other, so long as they get profit enough. If the freights are high and the railway dividends are large (compared with a fair view of what their capitalization represents), the price of the coal at the mines may be small—and this is quite convenient when the question of adjusting wages with the working miners comes up. In short, the nature of the anthracite industry, because of the restricted limits of anthracite production, is such that it comes nearer to the possibilities of monopoly than almost any other industry. Governmental control is, therefore, obviously peculiarly needful; and it should be added that this control should be just and fair to the railway, to the producer, whether independent or not, to the dealer, and to the consumer.

THE ROCK ISLAND RAILWAY SYSTEM

The Inter-State Commerce Commission has just made a scathing report concerning the wrecking of the Chicago and Rock Island Railway Company by so-called "high finance." It is charged that the syndicate which came into the possession of the Rock Island system by devious stock speculation deals has manipulated the road into a receivership. Despite the richness of the territory traversed by the Rock Island and the enormous tonnage carried, manipulation of stock, through holding companies and otherwise, forced the company's shares down from a quotation of $200 in 1902 to $20 in 1914. Yet the earnings of the railway company proper, says the report, have increased steadily, and in 1914 were the largest in its history.

The most striking circumstances in connection with the application for receivership is that none of those who directly participated in the proceedings had any financial interest in the railway company. The real owners of the railway—the stockholders, the security-holders, and the directors, except those comprising the syndicate and in its confidence—were in ignorance of the receivership application.

Among the derelictions charged to the syndicate management are the paying of fancy salaries to officers, the payment of unexplained bonuses to favorite officials, campaign contributions, unaccounted-for miscellaneous expenses, the large upkeep of holding companies, and the manipulation of subsidiary stocks, which have cost the Rock Island many millions of dollars.

There are at least two lessons to be drawn from this disaster:

First, the above record emphasizes the need of directors who actually direct. In the Rock Island, as in most companies, there were too many passive directors who acquiesced in what was being done without knowledge and certainly without investigation. It should be realized by directors of railways that they are quasi-public officials and hence are doubly derelict if they blindly believe everything put before them by interested officials.

In the second place, the above history is only another proof of the country's need of some such legislation as was outlined years ago by President Hadley, of Yale—namely, some Government control of and limitation on the issuance of railway stocks and bonds,

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whether directly or through the now too familiar holding company device.

JUDGE PERRY AND JUDGE LINDSEY

In its issue of June 23 The Outlook reported the fact that Judge Lindsey had been cited for contempt in the court of Judge Perry, of Denver. In its issue of August 11 The Outlook reported at greater length the facts underlying the trial of Judge Lindsey and the contentions made by his counsel in his defense. We have now received a full report of Judge Perry's decision under which Judge Lindsey stands convicted of the serious offense of contempt of court.

It will be remembered that Judge Lindsey refused to give certain testimony demanded by the District Attorney and Judge Perry, on the ground that the giving of this information would be a violation of a privileged confidence. Judge Lindsey further contended that the giving of this testimony would in a large measure destroy the whole value of the Juvenile Court to the community. He contended that Judge Perry had asked him to betray the interests of the wards of the State intrusted to his court by law and public policy.

Judge Perry in his decision gives little consideration to the fundamental principles underlying Judge Lindsey's protest. He dismisses almost without a word the argument made by counsel for Judge Lindsey as to the peculiar value of maintaining uninjured the reputation of the Juvenile Court as a sanctuary for wronged and delinquent children. In his decision he seems, to the lay mind, to have ignored the broad principles of public policy and to have interpreted Judge Lindsey's refusal to testify as contempt of court on narrow and legalistic ground. This decision will doubtless be appealed, but it may be worth while to reiterate here the facts of the case against Judge Lindsey and the reasons given by Judge Perry for his decision. Briefly, the case is this: A twelve-year-old boy, the son of a woman under trial for the murder of her husband, testified that he himself had fired the fatal shot while striving to take from his mother's hands a revolver which she had picked up in self-defense. This boy was brought before Judge Lindsey and examined as to the accuracy of his story, after having received the assurances of Judge Lindsey that anything he might say would be regarded as sacredly confidential. Judge Lindsey claimed that he desired to make these tests of the boy's veracity partly because of the value of such psychological experiments in his work as Judge of the Juvenile Court. He further claimed that because of his official position he was sole judge as to whether the public interest would suffer by his disclosing, or his refusal to disclose, the information so received. According to Judge Lindsey's view, and the view of The Outlook, there existed in this case all four of the conditions under which at common law a communication is entitled to be regarded as privileged:

(1) The communications must originate in a confidence that they will not be disclosed;

(2) This element of confidentiality must be essential to the full and satisfactory maintenance of the relation between the parties;

(3) The relation must be one which in the opinion of the community ought to be sedulously fostered; and

(4) The injury that would inure to the relation by the disclosure of the communications must be greater than the benefit thereby gained for the correct disposal of litigation.

Added to this general principle under which, if all the four above conditions are present, it is the policy of the law to grant immunity from testifying in court, Judge Lindsey claimed specific authority for his refusal to testify from the statute of the State of Colorado which reads: "A public officer shall not be examined as to communications made to him in official confidence, when the public interests, in the judgment of the court, would suffer by the disclosure." But, arguing from the existence of the express statute purporting to cover the whole ground of privilege, Judge Perry declared that it was not necessary to determine whether at common law the communication involved in this case would have been privileged or not. Under the specific statute Judge Perry dismissed Judge Lindsey's claim for privilege on the ground that the alleged confidential communication was made to him as a private citizen and not in his official capacity, for the reason that the boy was not under the jurisdiction of Judge Lindsey at the time the communication was made. This opinion of Judge Perry is flatly opposed to the contention of Judge Lindsey and his counsel, that all children are under the jurisdiction of the Juvenile Court from the moment an offense has been committed by or against them. Granting, however, that the communication was made to Judge Lindsey in his

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official capacity, Judge Perry further denied the right of Judge Lindsey to determine whether or not the public interests would suffer by the disclosure of the testimony demanded, even though the Legislature has granted to the Judge of the Juvenile Courts of Colorado concurrent jurisdiction with the District Courts of that State.

The progress of this case through the Superior Court of Colorado will, as The Outlook has already said, be watched with intense interest by all those interested in Judge Lindsey and in the development of his Juvenile Court movement.

THE EASTLAND INQUIRY

We reported last week the fact that the Chicago Grand Jury (that is, the Cook County Grand Jury) had returned indictments against four of the officials of the steamship companies which owned the Eastland and against the captain and engineer of the steamship. A separate investigation is going on before the Federal Grand Jury which will doubtless make recommendations as to specific steps to prevent such frightful disasters as that of the Eastland in the future and also for improvements in methods of Federal inspection and oversight of steamship service. The Federal Government has also promised an independent investigation, although it is not yet clear how and when it is to take place. Out of the various recommendations and suggestions there should come not only prosecution of guilty violators of existing laws, but forceful and workable new legislation. The right course to pursue can best be determined when the investigations still going on are completed. Meanwhile we may add to our report of last week the statement that the Cook County Grand Jury, besides urging stricter laws in general, specifically advocated the transference of the steamboat inspection service from the Department of Commerce to the Navy Department. Its indictment charged the captain and engineer with criminal carelessness and negligence in the operation and handling of the boat, its passengers, and the water ballast; while it charged the president and other officers of the company with manslaughter on the grounds that "they knew the Eastland was unseaworthy and had no stability; that they permitted twenty-five hundred passengers aboard the vessel, more than its carrying capacity; that they were negligent in hiring an incompetent engineer, who was unable to control the boat properly; that there was not sufficient hold in the ship; that the ballast tanks were allowed to be out of repair and not filled with water."

THE ANNAPOLIS SCANDAL

The Court of Inquiry appointed by Secretary Daniels to investigate the scandal at the Naval Academy has made its final report, and on its recommendation, approved by the Secretary, the President has signed the orders for the dismissal from the Academy of two midshipmen charged with having seen and used copies of examination sheets which were intended to be given in this year's test for promotion. Upon other midshipmen were visited penalties ranging from an official reprimand to being dropped an entire class in the Academy.

It will be recalled that the original recommendation of the Superintendent of the Academy which precipitated the present investigation called for the dismissal of seven midshipmen for having had previous knowledge of an examination paper which they must have recognized when the examination itself was held. The Superintendent of the Academy held that, while they might have innocently acquired possession of copies of the examination papers—due to the practice at the Academy of giving out "dope" or outlines of courses—nevertheless these students were guilty of a very grave offense against discipline when they failed to report the fact that they had seen these examination papers previously to their having been made public by the authorities. Accordingly the two midshipmen were dismissed and fifteen others recommended for discipline. The Court of Inquiry finds that sixty-three and four-tenths per cent of the first class and eighty per cent of the second class had received prior to the examination varying amounts of the so-called "dope" that later proved to be the substantial portion of the examination paper. Evidence further showed that sixty-three midshipmen had surreptitiously and without authority visited one or more of the various departments of the Academy at unauthorized times for the alleged purpose of obtaining their marks in advance of publication, and that there were undoubtedly numerous other midshipmen who indulged in this practice. Further investigation of this subject is recommended by the Navy Department or the Superintendent of the Naval Academy.

While the punishments given were severe,

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it hardly seems that they meet the situation as exposed by the Superintendent of the Academy in his original recommendation. So systematic a betrayal of the best interests and highest ideals of the Academy as has been outlined by the finding of the Naval Board calls, it would seem, for more dismissals than were recommended to and approved by the President. Dishonor in the Academy strikes home to the Nation as no similar dishonor in any private institution would do. If the Board of Inquiry has secured less than a complete eradication of the malign growth, the fact is to be seriously lamented.

WHAT THE BIBLE HAS DONE FOR THE NATION

Among the almost innumerable conventions held in San Francisco this summer the World's Bible Congress has a wide interest on account of certain facts respecting the Bible and its influence on the human race there reported. The mere fact that in 1914 over twenty-eight million Bibles were issued and distributed—that is, one volume for each second of time, day and night, for every working day of the year—is not without its significance. Nevertheless, that every time the clock ticks a Bible goes its way would not be particularly important were it not for the effect on human life which this messenger has had in the past and is having in the present. We select a few facts from three of the many papers presented at this Congress:

Dr. Kuyper, former Prime Minister of Holland, and now a Senator, and also a professor of theology, traced the effects of the use of the Bible on the development of mankind in European history. Wherever the Bible has gone it has developed a sense of the value of the individual, and by its promotion of a rich individualistic life has laid a foundation for democracy. Presenting, as it does, religious truth not in abstract, philosophical, or theological form, but in the lives and the experiences of men themselves struggling toward the truth against foes without and doubts, difficulties, and the remaining pagan prejudices within, it presents to the reader religious life in a vivid, animated, and often dramatic form. Then, it has created in the community in which it has been disseminated a taste for reading and a love for literature, so that "one is struck everywhere in the Calvinistic countries by the many book-shops, not only in large towns, but even in the small villages, compared to the rarity of such shops in the Roman Catholic countries." It has at the same time enlarged the historical views and the world sense of the people. "Where no Bible reigns and no Christian school is open to youth, people really are acquainted only with their own folk in their own land and times. On the contrary, where the Bible prevails the quite different life of the Orient is open to us, and people become acquainted with the old life in Egypt, in Assyria, in Babylon, in Persia, and more especially in Israel." Thus, we may add, while creeds and ecclesiastical ritual may, and often do, tend to narrowness, the use of the Bible by the common people tends to develop a wide vision and a catholic spirit. By the same process it tends to develop international relations. Because the Bible is a missionary book it creates in the life of the people missionary enterprise. Bible peoples are almost inevitably colonial nations, for the simple reason that the Bible teaches them that the Kingdom of Christ should be extended and the Gospel preached, and the life of righteousness, peace, and universal welfare promoted in every nation.

This influence of the Bible on the life of the nations is not merely a historical fact; it is no less a present fact. Thus Dr. Scudder, quoting a leading thinker of Calcutta, showed that denominational Christianity does not greatly attract the population of India, but that population recognizes the beauty of the Sermon on the Mount, which the native thinker quoted characterizes as "thoroughly Indian." The Bible has been translated, in whole or in part, into more than a hundred Indian dialects, and it is estimated that two hundred and fifty millions of the people of India have some portion of the Scripture in their own language. It is regarded not only by British but by many Hindu officials as one of the most important aids to the English nation in the government, education, and betterment of the people; is studied as a text-book in a great number of schools and colleges; is bringing together the conglomerate races into a human fellowship, and by imbuing them with a spirit of humanity is gradually undermining the caste barriers which have hitherto been one of the greatest obstacles in the way of true human civilization in India.

That it is exerting a similar influence in China was indicated by the paper read by Dr. John R. Hykes, who attributed many of

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the radical changes for the better in Chinese life, character, customs, and government to the influence of the Bible. He pointed out, what others have done before him, that the missionary has been a pioneer in the work of civilization, and has done more than any other agent in awakening the Chinese people from their long slumber. The Bible has been translated into Chinese by Chou-fu, Provincial Treasurer of Shantung, in conjunction with Li Hung-chang. They copied out the entire Bible in the literary language, their object being to produce an independent version in what they considered a more acceptable dress, in order to acquaint the literary class with its contents and remove the prejudice against Christianity. It is probably largely due to their influence that the Bible has been introduced into some Government schools as a text-book, in response to a demand coming from the pupils and the people. To the influence of the Bible Dr. Hykes attributes not only such reforms as the abolition of torture, the decrease of infanticide, the going out of fashion of foot-binding, the tendency to substitute monogamy for polygamy, but also reforms in the administration of justice, the abolition of opium-smoking, the adoption of a national scheme of education, and the growing recognition of the right of free thought, free speech, and free conscience.

We wish that some writer, possessed of the ability to present facts in an interesting, vital, and dramatic form, would take the papers read at this Bible Congress and out of them make a small volume giving the history of the work of the Bible in the world. Adequately done, it would really be a history of the development of modern civilization and would be the best antidote to the prejudice of those who imagine that Christian missions are nothing but an attempt to crowd out one set of dogmas and put another set of dogmas in their place.

THE CZAR'S CRUELTY TO KATHARINE BRESHKOVSKY

About a year ago The Outlook published a report from Russia that Madame Breshkovsky was to be confined for the rest of her life—she is now seventy-one years old and has cataracts on both eyes—in a wretched Siberian village on the Arctic coast. Last week there were published extracts from a letter received from Madame Breshkovsky by Miss Alice Stone Blackwell. The letter came from a bleak, snowy mountain pass in northern Siberia, through which Madame Breshkovsky had been taken with other prisoners on the journey of two thousand miles from Irkutsk to Yakutsk. The town of Yakutsk is about two hundred miles north of the Arctic Circle on the Arctic Ocean, and it is near here that this aged woman, beautiful in spirit, gentle in manner, a lover of freedom, is to spend her last days. Here the winters are eight months long and the cold often fifty-five degrees below zero.

That the spirit of the "Little Grandmother," as Russian revolutionists love to call her, is still indomitable is shown in this passage from the letter just received: "The longer I live the more fully I understand that the deepest thing in me is an invisible and ardent love for the human race, which I am convinced contains within itself all the germs of intellectual improvement to an indefinite extent; of an ascent to a moral life which will make it infinitely happy."

Our readers will remember the story told and retold in The Outlook of the visit to this country ten years ago of Madame Breshkovsky, of her addresses on the cause of Russian freedom, of her arrest in Russia, where she returned with $10,000 collected here for the cause, of her trial after two years' imprisonment, and of the fact that she was convicted, while Nicholas Tschaikowsky, her comrade, also well known and loved in America, was acquitted. They will remember also that the Czar refused to yield to the earnest petition of large numbers of Americans of position and influence, conservatives as well as radicals, that he should spare this feeble, worn, and fine-natured woman. He did not spare her, and when two years ago she all but succeeded in escaping from her place of banishment, it was determined that the safety of the Empire and of the Czar required that this terrible enemy should endure the extreme of suffering in the most distant and unendurable spot in Siberia. Apparently she has been taken by stages from one part of Siberia to another, and has now at last reached the end of her journey.

The civilized world has protested and does protest against this inhuman and barbarous act.

THE OARSMEN OF DULUTH

From the welter of war news and from the premonitory rumblings that tell of the gathering of the political thunder-storms of

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autumn, there is one news item of the week to which we turn with genuine pleasure. It is that Duluth is supreme in rowing.

Other cities have other fames: New York is known for its general bigness; Boston, having lost its supremacy in literature and in the culinary treatment of the bean to Indianapolis and Newark, respectively, rejoices in the prowess of its professional baseballers; Milwaukee's fame needs no allusion. But all these fames seem slight to us beside Duluth's, for the love of feats of muscle which has descended to modern man from the Greeks who made Hercules their national hero lives even in this age of spectacles, rubber overshoes, and little spitting guns that kill a score of men a minute.

The supremacy that Duluth oarsmen appeared to have in recent annual regattas of the National Association of Amateur Oarsmen was made indisputable at this year's aquatic meet, which was held on the placid Connecticut River at Springfield, Massachusetts. The squad of thirty-four oarsmen that entered eleven events at the regatta for the Duluth Boat Club, after a wearing trip of 1,500 miles, went home with ten victories and one second place to their credit. Incidentally, four of the Duluth crews established new Association records for their events.

This achievement stands unequaled in the history of National amateur rowing in America. All honor to the stout-hearted youths who learned their oar-swinging on the boisterous waters of Lake Superior, to their coach, "Young Jim" Ten Eyck, whose father presides over the rowing councils of Syracuse University, and to the citizens of the lake city, who in their unflagging support of their boat club have made rowing almost a municipal affair in Duluth.

THE EBB IN IMMIGRATION

In no previous year since the "new immigration" set in has the inward flow of aliens been at such a low level as in the course of the fiscal year which ended July 1. That is to say, the number of immigrants has not been so small since 1899. In the course of the last forty-two years there have been only fourteen in which the current was not greater in volume. There are grounds for the assertion that only once—1862—within a period of at least seventy years has the actual immigration been so small. The number of aliens admitted in the course of the year was 434,244, one-sixth of whom landed in July, 1914, the month before the war began. The number who departed was 384,174. The actual increase in the population of the alien-born, leaving deaths out of the calculation, was therefore only 50,070. This number accordingly represents the true immigration.

The large number of aliens departing in proportion to the admissions is of course to be credited to the war. There have been practically no immigrants from those Continental countries which are at war, or which may be involved, except Greece. Of the Slavs, 31,415 came, as compared with 323,415 in the previous year. Only 10,069 Poles sought admission. The previous year those who knocked at the gate numbered 122,657. There is an actual reduction in the number of Poles here, for 10,650 returned home. Evidently not all Russians have an aversion to their country, for while 5,403 entered, 16,102 went back to Europe. Of the South Italians the admissions fell from 251,612 in 1914 to 53,719, while 124,246 turned their faces toward their native land in obedience either to a summons of personal patriotism or of consular call.

Although it is held that the Jews, barring perhaps a quarter of a million fighting in the Russian army, are to be classed among the non-combatants, it has been almost impossible for them to get to the United States. Only 28,155 landed here. In 1914 the number admitted was 138,951. Among those who have come this year are a number from Germany who sailed from Holland, and some who managed to reach Palestine from Russia, or were living there and were ordered by the Turkish Government to leave. The latter came by way of Alexandria on Greek steamers. The Greeks have come in considerable numbers, relatively speaking. Their government recently lifted the embargo on emigration

It is of interest to note in passing that the number of representatives of the races which the restrictionists label as desirable exceeded by 48,000 the number from the countries whose emigrants they count undesirable. One of the reasons for the large number of "undesirables" in proportion to the "desirables" who returned to Europe undoubtedly was that, except in the case of Germany, no nation among those sending us the latter class requires military service of every fit

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man. The restrictionists ought to be delighted with the present condition.

RESTRICTION ON TRIAL

One of the chief values of this period of rest in immigration is that it gives the country an opportunity to study the effects of a small immigration before adopting a new policy. There have been many efforts to restrict immigration by placing measures looking toward that end on the statute-books. This country is now experiencing a condition which the restrictionists could hope to create only by a drastic programme of legislation. This condition is likely to continue for a period sufficiently long to test fairly both the economic and social effects of such a policy without definite commitment to it.

All the indications point to a moderate immigration for a period of at least five years, including the one which has just elapsed. While the war continues it is clear that immigration will be very small. The war gives no present promise of closing within a year. It may draw in other countries than those now directly involved.

The after effects of the war will also be restrictive. Casualties affecting millions of men of the type that furnishes the bulk of the emigrants, those under forty-five years of age, are reported. Of those who return to their homes from the front, large numbers will be suffering from their experiences in the trenches, or will bear the marks of their injuries. The immigration laws of the United States forbid the admission of those having defects or ailments which may affect their capacity to earn a livelihood. Moreover, the countries at war will be likely to take steps to keep their able-bodied men at home in order that reconstruction may not be delayed. Even Italy, should she come through the conflict unscathed, or be only a moderate sufferer, it is believed by some Italian students of emigration, would send across the Atlantic, for a time at least, fewer of her laborers than formerly. Professor Vittorio Racca, of the New York University, at one time of the faculty of the University of Rome, and an investigator of social and economic conditions for the Italian Government in neighboring countries, thinks that the demand for labor in France and other countries bordering upon Italy, and the opportunities to be found in Albania and the southern part of Asia Minor, which may be closely related to his country politically, will absorb a considerable portion of the energies of the Italian people and serve to reduce emigration to the Americas. It must be recognized, also, that economic conditions here are not likely immediately to stimulate such a large influx as that which preceded the war.

Some observers of immigration believe, however, that the widowed, with home ties cut, and the marriageable, who, owing to a dearth of eligible mates at home, may look abroad, will furnish many emigrants to the United States. They will be aided in reaching this country by relatives and friends already here. It is thought by their co-religionists here that, regardless of whether Russian Poland secures an autonomous government or not, political and economic conditions there will be so unfavorable for the Jews that a rapidly augmenting stream of Jewish emigration will set toward the United States as soon as the passage to the coast is cleared.

This country should not adopt a policy regarding so powerful a social and economic force as immigration without full knowledge of what it is doing. We can now supply ourselves with definite information which will aid in determining our attitude without undue pressure from any special interest.

FOR A TARIFF COMMISSION

A Tariff Commission League has been organized in Chicago, the object of which is thus officially defined:

To inaugurate and maintain a country-wide campaign to create and crystallize public sentiment, that will demand of Congress the creation of a scientific, non-partisan Tariff Commission with a fixed annual appropriation to secure its permanency, and giving it the broadest powers possible under the Constitution, including initiative investigation, power to hear complaints, report and recommend such tariff changes from time to time as may be necessary fairly to distribute the benefits and burdens among all the people and prevent the periodical demoralization to business due to general tariff revisions based upon party expediency and substitute therefor a scientific adjustment of rates by items and schedules from time to time based upon the economic needs of all the people.

The organization of such a Commission has the indorsement of a large number of prominent business men and prominent educators. Its business support is indicated by the fact that Mr. James J. Hill has agreed to take the chairmanship of the Advisory Committee; its intellectual support by the fact that among those who have announced themselves as

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favoring the proposal are Presidents Arthur T. Hadley, Nicholas Murray Butler, and Frank J. Goodnow, on the Atlantic coast, and Presidents David Starr Jordan and Benjamin Ide Wheeler, on the Pacific coast.

Such a plan was urged by The Outlook in the fall of 1913, and subsequent events have confirmed our judgment then expressed. There are certain departments in which a consistent and continuing policy is of the utmost importance for the welfare of the country, in which almost any policy is better than one which is continually changing. The country has already begun to recognize this fact. What we need is a clear discrimination between what should be flexible and what should be inflexible in our government. To secure a settled banking policy we have organized a Federal Reserve Banking system. To secure some permanence in our inter-State commerce we have organized an Inter-State Commerce Commission. To secure a permanent policy to promote National defense we need, as pointed out last week, a National Defense Commission. To secure stability in our international economic relations, so that our business men may know what they have to depend upon and so that the changes made in the tariff may be determined not by local interests but by the National welfare, we need such a permanent, non-partisan tariff commission as is proposed by the Tariff Commission League.

THE INTER-SETTLEMENT PLAYERS

Among the many societies of the present day devoted to the drama none is more significant than the Inter-Settlement Players of Boston. This organization is composed of the young men and women who belong to the dramatic clubs of ten of the city settlements, and for this reason is a new and important factor in the movement for a civic, or people's, theater.

This society was the result of an interesting experiment in competitive dramatics. For some years it has been the custom at one of the settlements, South Bay Union, to give a prize to the group that produced the best play. Two years ago the Inter-Settlement Dramatic League was formed for the purpose of competition between the different settlements. A committee was formed of the dramatic coaches, and standards set for judging and marking each play produced. Those that attained the required standard were allowed to go on circuit among the settlements, and a system of exchanged plays was thus inaugurated. Enthusiasm was greatly stimulated by the offer—as prize—of the privilege of playing before the American Drama Society.

A few months ago the Inter-Settlement Players were organized in response to the demand for an organization which should "acquaint the different groups with each other's work, stimulate a spirit of friendly competition," and at the same time raise the standard of dramatic production. At the fortnightly meetings lectures were heard on plays and play-giving and performances by outside clubs witnessed. The two great accomplishments of the year were the Twelfth Night Revels and the Peace Pageant of Beulah Marie Dix.

The possibilities of such an organization are, to a large extent, unlimited. It has numbers, varied ability, and enthusiasm. The working youth who are its members take to dramatics because of its contrast to the monotony of their working day, and they are enthusiastic and ambitious. Shakespeare and Galsworthy are none too difficult, and even so subtle a play as the "Passing of the Third Floor Back" has been excellently done. Composed of immigrants of different nations, it is possible to get the proper spirit into such plays as the "Melting Pot" and the "Pot of Broth."

The educative value of this organization may be anticipated by noting the results of five years of Irish plays at one of the settlements. Whereas only crude humor was appreciated at first, now the audiences seem to appreciate all the subtleties of Yeats and Synge.

With their system of exchanging plays, making it possible to furnish a neighborhood with frequent performances of "wholesome and artistic" drama interpreted with sincerity and spontaneity at prices within the reach of working people, the Inter-Settlement Players are conducting a sort of people's theater. It might well develop from this beginning into the kind of theater so strongly urged by Percy MacKaye in his "Civic Theater," which every community so badly needs.

A HOME RULE CRUSADE

An automobile trip for municipal home rule is one of the spectacular features of this summer's campaign in New York for giving the cities of that State a chance to govern themselves. Mayor Cox, of Middletown, the president of the Mayors' Association, and its

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secretary, William P. Capes, are making an automobile tour of the State in the interest of real home rule. In the words of Secretary Capes: "Our first request is for a grant of powers specifically outlined. We then ask for the constitutional right for the people of each city to draft, adopt, and amend their own charter, subject to the Constitution and general laws applying in terms and effect to the entire State. The cities of Ohio, Michigan, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Washington, and Oregon are now enjoying this grant of power. Our proposal provides all the necessary safeguards to protect the urban population against special selfish or partisan interests, for it places the power in the people. First, we propose that the Legislature shall immediately prescribe by general law the manner in which the cities shall draft their charters. Secondly, our proposal provides that every municipal law—a new charter or an amendment thereto—shall be submitted to the people for adoption. We believe that this will stabilize municipal government and make it truly representative."

These modern crusaders are being enthusiastically received and are educating the people, and even if the Constitutional Convention should be deaf, or endeavor to give a stone for bread, it is only a question of time when the right of real local self-government will be granted. To date, fifty cities are lined up back of the campaign.

Some idea of the Legislature's interference with local affairs may be gained from the fact that the total number of bills that became law since 1910 was 4,260, of which 983 were special city bills.

"Within five years," the Mayor declares, "Buffalo has had to go to the Legislature for authority to spray its shade trees; Newburgh, for permission to close and sell a portion of a street; Little Falls, for permission to pave streets without preliminary petition; Syracuse, for authority to sprinkle its streets; New York City, for the right to use for municipal purposes a part of the Hall of Records, a building it had built and paid for. Many instances will doubtless be recalled where in your own city delays in securing needed legislation to permit you to do the things which have been found necessary to be done have resulted in waste of time of your officials and the money of the taxpayer. We emphatically assert that the 7,000,000 people who live in the cities are competent to manage their own municipal business honestly and efficiently."

AN OUTLAW STATE

In the lynching of Leo M. Frank there is the consummation of a vast modern tragedy. None of the great Greek dramatists told a story more elemental, more sweeping, more clearly inexorable. It is a story of primitive passion, of villainy and intrigue, of degradation and sorrow, of human forces working relentlessly to a destined end. And in it all the great tragic figure is not that of the young Jew, but that of a State—Georgia.

In such a tragedy as that individuals count for little. Those who have appeared as protagonists are but interpreters or spokesmen. The real actors in this drama have been the larger figures that transcend individual lives and characters—such figures as were represented in the miracle plays or morality plays of old. And among these great figures in this tragedy the most dominant figure of all and the most sinister is that of the Mob.

From the beginning and throughout to the end the baleful presence of the Mob guided the action. Before its evil power Public Opinion cringed. In order to placate it even the Court turned aside from its accustomed course. And when at last Orderly Government in the person of Governor Slaton undertook to withstand the Mob's decree and set its own will against the Mob's will, even then the Mob only bided its time and renewed its determination to have its way.

Leo M. Frank, dead at the hands of lynchers, may yet do more for Georgia and for justice than any living man throughout this case could have succeeded in doing.

Accused of a most atrocious murder, which could have been committed only by a degenerate, this young superintendent of a pencil factory was put on trial in the summer of 1913. Outraged by the atrocity of the crime, certain people in Georgia, and particularly in Atlanta, where the crime was committed, and in Marietta, where the murdered girl's family live, insisted that a victim be found to pay the penalty, and they fastened upon young Frank as the one whose death would most surely satisfy their desire for vengeance. It was here that the spirit of the mob began its perfect work. There have been good people who have denied that the trial was conducted under the influence of the mob. They simply did not know what now, in the culmination of the tragedy, all who have eyes must see. It was at the very beginning of the trial that a greater question arose than

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the guilt or innocence of Frank. That was the question, Which was to prove more powerful, the mob or the State of Georgia? That was the question before the Court, although it was not stated in any indictment, argued in any address of counsel, mentioned in the judge's charge, or included in the verdict of the jury. Because of the mob the militia was placed in readiness for duty. Because of the mob the prisoner was kept where he could not face his accusers and the jury at the time of the verdict. During the whole process of appealing the case the mob kept up its threats. When, through the observance of technicalities, the part that the mob had played was finally kept out of consideration by any court, State or Federal, and the Frank case was brought before the Prison Commission, where the mob's action and influence could be weighed, the mob itself made its voice heard audibly and menaced those who had power to recommend commutation of sentence. At last the case was brought before the Governor, who was as brave as the mob and dared ignore its demands. Governor Slaton, after reviewing the case, and even taking into consideration the refusal of the Prison Commission to recommend commutation of sentence, commuted the sentence from the death penalty to life imprisonment. In doing this Governor Slaton did not in the least interfere with the prerogative of the jury. He had the legal and moral right to do what he did, and the State should have backed his decision with all its power. But the Governor in this did defy the mob, and the mob knew it and snarled its threats. Against the Governor the mob could not take revenge, for the Governor himself saw that during the rest of his term the mob was held in check. But within a few days he left office. It was fitting that the first overt act embodying the spirit of the mob after Governor Slaton's retirement should be the assault upon Frank by a murderer.

Then, on Monday of last week, late at night, twenty-five men, agents of this mob, whose power had been growing throughout these months, went to the prison where Frank was kept under the care of the State, overawed the warden and the guards, swept through the dormitory of the prison and dragged Frank from his bed, carried him in automobiles within two miles of the birthplace of the girl of whose murder he had been convicted, and there hanged him to a tree.

Thus the question that was raised at the beginning of Frank's trial was answered. The State of Georgia had allowed the mob to have its way in the beginning, and at the end the State had to bend its will to the will of the mob, and there on the tree with Frank was hanged whatever was left of the sovereignty of Georgia's people.

Herein is the tragedy. A State that has bowed to the will of the mob, that has been mastered by the mob, is no longer worthy to be called a State. No one who values his life or who relies on the spirit of justice to protect him and his from the savage element in his fellow-men wants to live in a mob-ruled community. The elementary reason why men form themselves into governments is that they may protect their persons and incidentally their property against irresponsible assault from without and within. There are high motives that send civilized men into savage places. Soldiers go there in response to the command of those whom they are sworn to obey. Missionaries go there at risk of life in order to serve their fellow-men. Scientists, in disregard of danger, go there in order to contribute to the world's store of knowledge. It is hard to understand why anybody should choose to go to Georgia now except for some such reason. Georgia, as a State, has abandoned civilized government. In exigencies Georgia has proved that she will have recourse, not to civilization, but to the mob. The State of Georgia has defied the public morals of the Nation, and she is in her present mood not fit to be regarded as a member of the Nation's family of States. She has invited ostracism. She has chosen to walk alone, and she will. She has elected to have the company of the mob, and she cannot complain if she loses the company of civilized society. She has hung out a sign, "Beware of the mob," and she must not be surprised if she finds that she has to forego the companionship of the neighbors.

There are, we are sure, thousands of people in Georgia who believe in civilization. For all such who are yet forced to live in Georgia the rest of the Nation will have profound sympathy. More than that, for those people who willingly choose to remain in Georgia for the purpose of rescuing their State from its present tragic plight, the rest of the Nation must surely offer every possible aid and give promise of effective co-operation. They have a hard task before them. When, on its first page, "The Jeffersonian," a weekly paper edited by Thomas E. Watson,

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for many years a political power in the State, prints such sentences as these: "A Vigilance Committee redeems Georgia and carries out the sentence of the law on the Jew who raped and murdered the little Gentile girl, Mary Phagan. . . . Let Jew libertines take notice"—those Georgians who hate and detest the mob will know something of what it means to be a Russian patriot who has to fight the Black Hundred. And the Nation can rejoice that there are Georgians who have had courage to speak out instantly. In the very place where the lynching occurred, the Rev. Randolph R. Claiborne has spoken: "A century will hardly wipe out the stain. The responsibility for the stain on Georgia's honor rests upon the men whose consciences led them to defy her courts." Says the "Brunswick News:" "Georgia hangs her head. Is the proud commonwealth of Georgia vying with bloody Mexico in the outlawry business? . . . Leo M. Frank was but a single atom in this great world of ours. He had but one life to give, and yet in the giving of it a magnificent commonwealth has been shrouded in a shame that a quarter of a century of time will not eradicate. . . . The reason? Aye, that is the question, the reason. It is because we have been ruled by weaklings, because we have allowed false doctrines to be taught to the youth of the State. . . . Those who have perpetrated this disgrace, who trampled law and order and decency under foot, should be brought to justice or else we should trail in the dust forever our beloved ensign, 'Wisdom, Justice, and Moderation.'" Thomas W. Loyless, President and Editor of the Augusta "Chronicle," in a statement to the New York "Times," after expressing his shame for his State and declaring that the leader in the agitation was Watson, concludes: "Perhaps in time we will be able to wipe out the stain of this murder; for whether Frank was guilty or innocent, it was none the less a murder, and a cowardly and brutal murder at that. But the crime against the individual is of less importance and consequence than the crime committed against the State and against civilization." The Savannah "Press" denounces the mob as guilty of "treachery" to the State. So the quotations might be continued—from the Atlanta "Constitution," Governor Slaton, President Meldrim, of the American Bar Association, who is a citizen of Savannah, and others. To such as these, Americans from all parts of the country should give their support.

And while Georgians remember the shame to their State, let not Americans, North and South, East and West, forget that this is a shame for the Nation. What has happened in Georgia may in a measure happen to any American community that allows the spirit of the mob any privileges. Every American community should take warning from this tragedy. If disaster comes to this country, it is as likely to come through this spirit of the mob, through this tolerance for lawlessness, as through any other cause.

THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE

Neither those who advocated nor those who condemned the Seamen's Act, passed by the last Congress and designed to better the living conditions of sailors and to protect the lives of passengers, can afford to ignore the effect of that measure upon our merchant marine. What has happened since the passage of that bill can be discussed without prejudice to the humanitarian desires which in a large measure prompted its creation. The question is simply what the Nation is willing to pay for the benefit received under this act.

The cost of this measure to the growth of the American merchant marine, particularly upon the Pacific Ocean, is made manifest by the announcement that the Pacific Mail Steamship Company has sold its five largest steamers, the Manchuria, the Mongolia, the Korea, the Siberia, and the China, because when the La Follette Seamen's Law goes into operation in November it will become impossible to compete with foreign lines upon the western ocean. This transaction will leave only one American steamer in the trans-Pacific trade—the Minnesota, owned by the Great Northern Steamship Company of Seattle.

It is true that these five steamers will not be lost to the American flag for the present, for they have been sold to the Atlantic Transport Company of West Virginia. Whether, after the war is over and neutral ships can no longer demand the high freight rates which they are now receiving, these five ships will be continued under the American flag remains to be seen. The fact that the American merchant marine has been practically swept off the Pacific Ocean is significant enough for immediate attention.

For those who support without qualification the present Seamen's Act we present for

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consideration three statements generally accepted as fact:

The United States must have a merchant marine under its own flag.

The United States desires the best living conditions possible for its laborers on the sea.

The laws of the United States can by no stretch of the imagination be made to control the merchant marine of our commercial rivals.

Which shall we abandon, our merchant marine or our humanitarian principles?—or neither? This is a problem which will press upon the next Congress for solution.

A PROPOSED PLATFORM

The political journals are engaged in discussing the question whether or not the Republican and Progressive parties will unite in the next political campaign, and, if so, what candidate they will nominate for the Presidency. There appears to The Outlook to be a question much more important, namely, Can they agree on a political platform, and, if so, what shall the platform be?

The object of a political party is, or ought to be, not merely to elect a candidate, but to incorporate in the National life certain fundamental principles. The men who agree on what these principles are ought to be able to unite in an organization to secure the acceptance of these principles by their fellow-citizens. If they cannot agree on these principles, there is every reason why they should not unite to elect a candidate whose principles they do not know or to get power when they do not know how that power is to be used.

We should like to see in 1916 a political party adopt the four following fundamental principles, and nominate a candidate whose past character and career justified the belief that he would stand for these principles alike in victory and in defeat:

Protection of the people. Government should protect its citizens at home and abroad, on land and on sea, from foreign aggression and from domestic oppression. It should be equipped with an efficient police, army, and navy, so organized and controlled as to be the servants, not the masters, of the people. It should, by appropriate legislation, protect from industrial oppression the rights of children to their childhood, of women to their wifehood and motherhood, and of all honest and industrious workers to a wage adequate for comfortable and self-respecting lives.

Promotion of the people's industries. Government should protect and promote private business, whether individual or corporate, should never paralyze private enterprise by breaking up business organizations merely because they are big, and attempting to turn the community back to unregulated competition, nor by conducting such business as can be effectively conducted for the public welfare by private enterprise; but it should bring all organizations, whether of labor or capital, under Government control so far as may be necessary to make them minister to the welfare of the community.

Preservation of the people's property. Government should protect from private spoliation the property of the public—that is, the property which is the gift of God to man, not the product of man's industry; and therefore it should take such measures as may be necessary to conserve for the public welfare the harbors, navigable rivers, water powers, forests, and mines of the country.

Government by the people. The Federal Government should be endowed by the people with power adequate to enable it to accomplish these results. They can best be accomplished by self-government; therefore provision should be made for the education of all the people under the American flag, by ethical, industrial, and vocational training as well as by literary and academic instruction, that they may be prepared for self-government; and the political institutions of the country should be so framed that the people may be able to nominate, as well as elect, their officials, and to call them to a frequent and strict accounting for the administration of their official duties. Officials, whether legislative, executive, or judicial, are chosen, not to govern the people, but to enable the people to govern themselves.

In this statement of principles we have said nothing about either prohibition or women's suffrage. After the people have obtained the real power of self-government, and are imbued with the ideas of social justice, for which governments are established among men, they will be better prepared than now to consider what course is wise and just respecting women's share in the responsibilities of government, and respecting the regulation of dangerous articles of commerce, such as dynamite and alcohol.

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PROGRESS AND REACTION AT ALBANY

LAST week, in a piece of editorial correspondence from Albany, The Outlook gave its readers a picture of the Convention that has been engaged since early spring in rebuilding the Constitution of New York State. In that correspondence and in an editorial an effort was made to throw light on the somewhat hidden fight that has been going on in the Convention between the reactionary forces of invisible government and the forces of progress. It was pointed out that the gist of the programme to give more liberty to the people was found in four measures, namely, the proposal to give the Governor the initiative in budget-making, to reduce the number of State departments from more than a hundred and fifty to about a dozen, to increase the power of the executive by making all but three or four of the officers now elected on the State ballot subject to appointment by the Governor, and, finally, to give an increased measure of home rule to cities.

As The Outlook goes to press, only one of those measures has been favorably passed upon—the one empowering the Governor to draw up the State budget, which can be reduced but not increased by the Legislature. The Home Rule measure proposed by the committee of which Mr. Seth Low, former Mayor of New York, is chairman, has been sent back to committee for revision, but it is probable that before this issue of The Outlook reaches its readers the Convention will have taken final action on this subject, and on the proposal submitted by Mr. Frederick C. Tanner, Chairman of the Republican State Committee, to reduce the number of State departments from one hundred and fifty-two to thirteen, and to make all State officers now elected subject to appointment by the Governor, except the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Attorney-General, and Comptroller.

But in the meantime other activities of the Convention are worth inspection. An interesting amendment adopted by the Convention during the week is the article on taxation, which would give the State Tax Commission power to classify personal property and fix a low tax rate on each class—a provision that seems likely to bring in millions of dollars of revenue, thus making possible a decrease in the size of the State and local taxes on real estate.

Another important proposal is the recommendation aimed at lessening the law's delay which was reported to the Convention by the Committee on Judiciary, of which former Attorney-General George W. Wickersham is chairman. This committee, blaming the complicated rules of the Code of Civil Procedure and constant legislative tinkering therewith for the inordinate sluggishness of the processes of the law in New York (which also exists in most other States of the Union), made the following principal recommendations:

The establishment of a brief and simple practice act; the adoption of a separate body of civil practice rules regulating procedure in the Court of Appeals, the Supreme Court, and the County Courts; and the granting of power to the Legislature to appoint a Commission at five-year intervals to report any changes that it may deem necessary to make in the law and in the regulations of civil procedure, the adoption of such reports by the Legislature being the only power it shall have in such matters, all other power to form and change the rules of civil procedure to be vested in the Judges of the Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court.

Thus far we have been considering the constructive work of the Constitutional Convention, but just as important has been the defeat, by the more enlightened delegates at Albany, of certain reactionary, liberty-reducing proposals.

The Outlook has already referred to the amendment suggested by Mr. William Barnes, Jr., which, if adopted, would have prevented the passage of further social legislation like the Minimum Wage Law, the Widows' Pension Law, and the Workmen's Compensation Law. We did not treat this proposal in detail, however, because the chances of its passage seemed almost negligible until the proposal was reported out of committee into the Convention. Then the herculean efforts of the erstwhile Republican State Chairman brought out an unexpected show of strength for the mediæval measure which threw a genuine panic into the ranks of the more progressive, or rather less conservative, elements in the Convention, led by Mr.

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Root, who realized that the incorporation in the Constitution of a plank so subversive of popular liberty as the Barnes recommendation would almost surely mean the rejection of the entire instrument by the people at the polls in November. After the most bitter fight which the Convention had seen up to that time, the Barnes amendment was defeated by a vote of 93 to 45.

The Barnes proposal was the more insidious because it had been so speciously worded that its advocates were able to claim with some plausibility that it safeguarded "the ideal of equality from the principle of privilege." It provided that "the Legislature shall not pass any bill:

"Granting hereafter to any class of individuals any privilege or immunity not granted equally to all members of the State.

"Providing for or authorizing the expenditure of any public money to be paid to any person except for materials furnished or services rendered upon employment by the State or a civil division thereof, or in recognition of such service.

"Establishing a minimum wage for service to be paid to any employee by a private employer."

The last stipulation in the amendment was the only one that would give the layman any inkling of the true purpose of the proposition, which was not, as purported, to protect the people from the seekers of special privileges, but rather to intrench special business interests in the ground that they now hold somewhat precariously in the face of the growing popular conviction that it is the business of the State to protect the workers who produce the wealth of society and to care for those who have been incapacitated while working for the common weal.

The true nature and intent of the Barnes proposal was ably revealed by Mr. Wickersham, who said: "Mr. Barnes seeks to tie the hands of the Legislature that it may not deal with any class, no matter how exceptional their condition, and that would be to destroy the whole basis upon which the American commonwealth has advanced since its foundation, of classifying laws for the purpose of meeting cases which fell within the classification.

"It would deprive the State of the capacity to do justice for a wrong inflicted, to engage in any benevolent or charitable affairs of any kind, or to expend one dollar in preventing pauperism, in relieving the necessities of the aged, or of assisting the necessities of those incapacitated by weakness."

In the voting Mr. Barnes had with him former Judge Alphonso T. Clearwater, Mr. James S. Whipple, and Mr. Lemuel E. Quigg, who was long prominent in New York City machine politics, and most of the Old Guard of the Republican standpatters. For the defeat of this menace to democratic government the public can thank the more enlightened Republicans like Messrs. Wickersham, Stimson, Root, and Parsons, some Democrats of the same kind, like Mr. Louis Marshall, and, to their credit be it said, the leading representatives of Tammany in the Convention, notably Senator Robert F. Wagner and Assemblyman Albert E. Smith.

We cannot close this review of the recent activities of the Albany Convention without calling attention to one proposal yet to be passed on, which seems to carry a concealed thorn which may prove a source of public injury if it is not cut out. We refer to the amendment introduced by Mr. W. T. Dunmore, providing that the Legislature shall not pass any act under the police power that is "unreasonable." The Anti-Saloon League has pointed out that, as liquor legislation is based upon the exercise of the police power, and as the power of a Legislature, established by a solid line of decisions, is now complete to the extent of the total destruction of the liquor traffic, it is evident that the adoption of this proposition might operate in such a manner as to take away or restrict the legislative power to regulate or prohibit the trade in liquor. "All that would be necessary would be for judges, chosen and elected with the aid of forces notoriously in alliance with the liquor traffic in this State in times past, to hold that certain proposed legislation is 'unreasonable,' and that would be the end of it."

This seems to be a warning well given. Mr. Dunmore may be innocent, as he protests that he is, of any intent to help the liquor interests, but the fact that Mr. Barnes's Committee of Legislative Powers has favorably reported the Dunmore amendment, and that Mr. Barnes is gathering his cohorts in the effort to put it through, seems to show that if the possibilities of this bill are not recognized by its framer, they are recognized by others who would be glad to use them.

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AMERICAN TRADE IN ARMS

THE GOVERNMENT'S REPLY TO AUSTRIA: A MESSAGE OF INTEREST TO AMERICANS. HOW AN EMBARGO ON MUNITIONS WOULD BENEFIT MILITARISM

THOSE Americans who have been influenced by the agitation against the export of arms from this country have been impressed undoubtedly by the argument that such trade is inhumane because, as it furnishes aid to armies, it therefore helps the spirit of militarism. The fact that it does just the opposite has been very clearly stated in a note sent to Austria on August 12, by Secretary Lansing. As The Outlook has reported, Austria had protested against such export of arms from the United States, on the ground that these arms were going mainly to the Allies. Naturally, Germany and Austria wish to shut off from the Allies all possible sources of supply for munitions of war, and the agitation on behalf of an embargo on arms is pleasing both to Austria and Germany. Those who have taken part in this agitation for the benefit of these foreign countries cannot, of course, be persuaded by argument, though they can be informed of what the attitude of this country is. Those, on the other hand, who have taken part in this agitation because they want this country to remain neutral and because they want to oppose militarism are presumably open-minded. It is to these latter that this note of Secretary Lansing may be said to be addressed, as well as to the Austrian Government.

SHALL A NEUTRAL NATION CHANGE THE LAW?

To put an embargo on arms, Secretary Lansing observes, would be to change international law. This, he says, is implied even by the Austrian Government itself. The reason why the law should be changed appears to be that one side has such naval superiority that it can prevent the other side from getting munitions from America, and so the argument seems to be that America should cut off munitions also from the side that has access to them now. This, says Secretary Lansing, "would impose upon every neutral nation a duty to sit in judgment on the progress of a war and to restrict its commercial intercourse with a belligerent whose naval successes prevented the neutral from trade with the enemy." If this principle is sound, it should apply to all contraband. "A belligerent controlling the high seas might possess an ample supply of arms and ammunition, but be in want of food and clothing. On the novel principle that equalization is a neutral duty, neutral nations would be obligated to place an embargo on such articles because one of the belligerents could not obtain them through commercial intercourse." And then Mr. Lansing points out that this ought to apply not only to a belligerent superior on sea but also to a belligerent superior on land. This would mean that a nation that can fight on land because it has plenty of munitions ought to be debarred from purchasing munitions elsewhere, while the nation that lacks such munitions should be permitted to import them. Mr. Lansing does not explicitly point out how Austria's own argument could thus be used against her.

"A MASS OF PERPLEXITIES"

"Manifestly, the idea of strict neutrality," Mr. Lansing thus concludes on this point, "now advanced by the Imperial and Royal Government would involve a neutral nation in a mass of perplexities which would obscure the whole field of international obligation, produce economic confusion, and deprive all commerce and industry of legitimate fields of enterprise, already heavily burdened by the unavoidable restrictions of war."

AUSTRIA AND GERMANY'S OWN EXAMPLE

In former times, Secretary Lansing reminds Austria, there was no compunction on the part either of Austria or Germany in exporting munitions. Both of these empires had produced a great surplus of arms and munitions, and sold it freely. In the Boer War British naval vessels cut off the Transvaal and the Orange Free State from getting such supplies. At that time these republics "were in a situation almost identical in that respect with that in which Austria-Hungary and Germany find themselves at the present time." Yet Germany sold great quantities of explosives, gunpowder, cartridges, shot, and weapons, and Austria-Hungary sold similar munitions though in small quantities. And

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Secretary Lansing gives the figures, which include such items as, for instance, over 1,325,000 pounds of explosives, and over 665,000 pounds of "shot, nickled or lead-coated, with copper rings, etc.," in the single year of 1900. "If at that time Austria-Hungary and her present ally," says Secretary Lansing, with great frankness, "had refused to sell arms and ammunition to Great Britain on the ground that to do so would violate the spirit of strict neutrality, the Imperial and Royal Government might with greater consistency and greater force urge its present contention." Germany and Austria also supplied the belligerents in both the Balkan wars, and Germany supplied Russia in the Crimean War and Turkey in the Turko-Italian War. So it does not seem that Austria can very well "ascribe to the United States a lack of impartial neutrality."

AMERICAN SECURITY AGAINST WORLD MILITARISM

The strongest part of the note is that in which Secretary Lansing points out that the safety of America, as of every other nation that does not wish to turn itself into an armed camp, must depend upon the right to import munitions in time of war. We quote this passage in full:

"But in addition to the question of principle there is a practical and substantial reason why the Government of the United States has from the foundation of the Republic to the present time advocated and practiced unrestricted trade in arms and military supplies. It has never been the policy of this country to maintain in time of peace a large military establishment or stores of arms and ammunition sufficient to repel invasion by a well-equipped and powerful enemy. It has desired to remain at peace with all nations, and to avoid any appearance of menacing such peace by the threat of its armies and navies. In consequence of this standing policy the United States would, in the event of attack by a foreign Power, be at the outset of the war seriously, if not fatally, embarrassed by the lack of arms and ammunition and by the means to produce these in sufficient quantities to supply the requirements of National defense. The United States has always depended upon the right and power to purchase arms and ammunition from neutral nations in case of foreign attack. This right, which it claims for itself, it cannot deny to others.

"A nation whose principle and policy it is to rely upon international obligations and international justice to preserve its political and territorial integrity might become the prey of an aggressive nation whose policy and practice it is to increase its military strength during times of peace with the design of conquest, unless the nation attacked can, after war had been declared, go into the markets of the world and purchase the means to defend itself against the aggressor.

"The general adoption by the nations of the world of the theory that neutral Powers ought to prohibit the sale of arms and ammunition to belligerents would compel every nation to have in readiness at all times sufficient munitions of war to meet any emergency which might arise, and to erect and maintain establishments for the manufacture of arms and ammunition sufficient to supply the needs of its military and naval forces throughout the progress of a war. Manifestly, the application of this theory would result in every nation becoming an armed camp, ready to resist aggression and tempted to employ force in asserting its rights rather than appeal to reason and justice for the settlement of international disputes.

"Perceiving, as it does, that the adoption of the principle that it is the duty of a neutral to prohibit the sale of arms and ammunition to a belligerent during the progress of a war would inevitably give the advantage to the belligerent which had encouraged the manufacture of munitions in time of peace, and which had laid in vast stores of arms and ammunition in anticipation of war, the Government of the United States is convinced that the adoption of the theory would force militarism on the world and work against that universal peace which is the desire and purpose of all nations which exalt justice and righteousness in their relations with one another."

SOME LEGAL QUESTIONS ANSWERED

Three points of international law which Austria raised Secretary Lansing answers briefly. To the point that a neutral may change its practice about exporting arms if it is necessary to do so for its own protection Secretary Lansing, with a polite hint of rebuke, suggests that this is a matter which the United States is competent to decide for itself. To the point that the United States has prohibited supplies to be taken from its ports to ships of war, Secretary Lansing says that this has no relation to an embargo, but is

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simply for the purpose of preventing any American port from becoming a foreign naval base. And to the point that text-writers on international law are unanimous in declaring the exportation of arms to be unneutral, Secretary Lansing quotes a German authority to the effect that the unneutral act is, not the export of arms, but the prohibition of such export!

"HAMSTRINGING THE LAMB"

Secretary Lansing's statement that the safety of America depends upon the preservation of the right to trade in munitions is one of the most important statements issued by our State Department during the war. It is not new in substance. It has been repeatedly expressed in other form. Only week before last we pointed out in an editorial that the establishment of a rule prohibiting the export of arms in war would mean "that every country, no matter how devoted to peace it was, would have to keep armed to the teeth; it would mean specifically that the United States would have to deny itself the right to buy arms from other nations in time of war, and therefore would have to prepare at once great stores of ammunition, and keep these stores of ammunition not only replenished but also renewed with every advance in the science of warfare;" that, in brief, it would mean that every country "would have to adopt the militarism of Germany." And as long ago as last March The Outlook published an article by Charles Noble Gregory in which he suggests that an enforcement of the rule against international trade in arms would be to "aid the wolf and hamstring the lamb." Secretary Lansing rendered a great service by making this point clear as it applies to America. Those who are advocating an embargo on arms are advocating a course which would either force this country to remain permanently weak and defenseless in the presence of a powerful enemy or to build up great munition factories and establish great stores of ammunition.

THE SITUATION IN THE BALKANS

A REVIEW

THE biggest war in history is being fought on many fields.

On which of these fields is the struggle most momentous? Belgium? France? Galicia? Poland? At the present time the developments at the Dardanelles seem most far-reaching of all, especially as inducing possible new allies, either to England, France, Italy, and Russia on the one hand, or to Germany, Austria, and Turkey on the other. Of course, if the Dardanelles could be occupied and Constantinople captured, both the material and moral effect to the first set of allies would be great. Russian grain would freely pass to the east and English munitions to the west. It is equally important, however, to the Teutonic allies and Turkey to prevent this.

Nearly nine months ago England and France sent a battle fleet to force the Dardanelles Straits and to proceed through the Sea of Marmora to capture Constantinople. England and France expected Russian help, coming to Constantinople by the way of the Black Sea and the Strait of the Bosphorus. But that help apparently never arrived. Even if it had, England and France might still be where they are to-day, having advanced but a few miles into the Dardanelles, and having sustained enormous losses in men and ships.

As Russian aid to take Constantinople is not forthcoming, England and France need other help.

It was at first thought that Italy would furnish it, that she would declare war on Turkey (because of Turkey's bad treatment of Italian consuls), that she would land forces on the northern Turkish Ægean shore for a march on Constantinople, attacking it in the way the Bulgars did eleven hundred years ago. But this hope proved vain. Italy aided in another way.

Then it was thought that Rumania would help. But the difficulty in the way of Rumanian help to an alliance in which Russia is a factor is that Russia has been a potential foe since 1877, when Russia appropriated the Rumanian province of Bessarabia. If Russia had now the generous wisdom to say, "Take back Bessarabia and we will also help to win Transylvania from Hungary for you, so that you may gather together all the Rumans scattered abroad, whether eastward or westward," who can doubt that Rumania would

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BULGARIA'S PRICE FOR HELPING THE ALLIES

The black portions of the map (which is based on one printed in the New York "Sun") show the territorial concessions demanded by Bulgaria for entering the war on the side of the Allies: namely, Adrianople and the surrounding territory, now Turkish; the Servian possessions south of Uskub; and the portion of Greece on the Ægean Sea including Kavala. Bulgaria would also like to regain the region north of Varna recently ceded to Rumania, also in black, but is not so insistent on this as she is regarding the other regions

at once have thrown in her lot with Russia's allies? But so far Russia has lost the chance, nor have her allies been able to goad her to appropriate action. This is doubly unfortunate since Rumanian, like Italian, sympathy has been manifesting itself with the oppressed in this war. On the other hand, German and Austrian agents have been busy with promises of the possession of Bessarabia. As they have not yet promised Transylvania, Rumania has lent a deaf ear. Indeed, she has done more, for, in emphasis of her neutrality, she has forbidden the passage of German munitions to Turkey across her territory. Accordingly an Austro-German force has been assembled at Orsova, on the Danube, at the point where the Austrian, Rumanian, and Servian boundaries meet (see accompanying map), less than forty miles from the Bulgarian frontier, the indication perhaps being that in order to reach Constantinople it is not necessary for German munitions to go by way of Rumania and the Black Sea.

Then it was thought that Greece might help in return for the promise of the shore of Asia Minor, the motherland of the Greece of to-day. This seemed to bear an immediate indication of coming to something. It was rumored that the Greek Prime Minister had come to an agreement with the Bulgarian Prime Minister (portraits of whom appear on another page) by which Bulgaria, in return for certain Macedonian lands captured by the

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Greeks during the Balkan wars, would remain neutral. But the Greek Premier, Venizelos, perhaps reckoned without two factors, namely, the monarch and his own political opponents. The Greek King wishes to maintain neutrality in the war. Whether this means a neutrality friendly to Germany, Austria, and Turkey, rather than to England, France, Italy, and Russia, is not known. But it would be strange if the monarch's German wife (the Kaiser's sister) and his German military training did not influence him. As to the Premier's political opponents, such a storm broke when his position with regard to Bulgaria became known that he resigned office and was succeeded by another. An election took place later which revealed Venizelos's true position, and when Parliament met on August 16 he was found to have twice as many followers as his successor had. His successor thereupon resigned. Will the King now bow to the will of the people and place Greece in this war as most Greeks desire, or will he await the results of a possible revolution?

Then there is Servia. The war was begun because of Servia. Will she help those who have helped her by abandoning some of the immense territory which she has gained during the two Balkan wars? Proportionately she won more than did any other State—she nearly doubled her area. Cession of the territory inhabited by Bulgars is now demanded by Bulgaria. If the Allies promise to reward Greece on the shore of Asia Minor, they will doubtless agree to reward Servia on the shore of the Adriatic. The Servian Parliament met on August 16, and on that very day the Austrian guns again attacked Belgrade. Such a hint might have been more significant in the Servian capital but for the fact that a year ago the Austrian guns attacked the city and bombarded it for four months before it surrendered, and then the Austrians held it only a week.

Finally, it is to Bulgaria that the Allies look for help. Bulgaria and part of old Macedonia are inhabited by the Bulgars, or Vulgars. Of all so-called Slav races they are nearest in kin to the Turks. Their racial stock comes from Middle Asia. Proceeding across southern Russia, the Bulgar nomads conquered the Slavs in the Bulgarian peninsula and there founded an empire (702–1014) which rose to greatness under its Czar Simeon and again in a later age under Czar John Asên II (1218–1241), who could speak of "the lands I have conquered from Adrianople to Durazzo, the Albanian, Greek, and Servian lands." It has been said that every child in Bulgaria is told the story of how this ancient empire came to an end at the Battle of Kostendil in 1330, and of the resultant Servian overlordship until 1389, when Servia succumbed to the Turk.

The language of the Bulgar has become pure Slav, with only slight modifications, thus differing from the neighboring Rumanian, which is a combination of Dacian, Latin, and Bulgarian, with intermixtures of Hungarian and Turkish.

The Bulgars are of medium height, but powerfully built, their physical excellence being largely due to their highland climate and environment. Outdoor agricultural life and soberness keep the Bulgars from the temptations of a false civilization. The Bulgars who live in Bulgaria are known as Bulgarians in distinction from those still living in Macedonia, Thrace, and Rumania. The Bulgarians number nearly five million, and the other Bulgars perhaps one million. Macedonia has been divided among Bulgars, Serbs, and Greeks. Had Bulgaria remained content with her gains from the first Balkan War, she would have kept the territory inhabited by Bulgars in Macedonia and assigned to her by the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878 (suppressed by the Congress of Berlin), by the Treaty with Servia in 1912, and by the Treaty of London in 1913. Unfortunately, however, the Bulgarian king, a very ambitious man, was not satisfied with obtaining half of the abandoned Turkish territory, but wanted three-fourths. He emerged from the second Balkan War with about one-fourth.

According to the "Statesman's Year Book," the following increases in area and population have resulted from the partial extinction of Turkey during the Balkan Wars:

AREA

	Old Territory. Sq. Miles.	New Territory. Sq. Miles.	Total. Sq. Miles.
Bulgaria.....	33,600	9,700	43,300
Servia.....	18,650	15,241	33,891
Greece.....	25,014	16,919	41,933
Montenegro...	3,474	2,129	5,603
Rumania.....	50,720	2,969	53,689

POPULATION

	Old Population.	New Population.	Total.
Bulgaria.....	4,337,000	416,000	4,753,000
Servia.....	2,911,000	1,636,000	4,547,000
Greece.....	2,765,000	2,056,000	4,821,000
Montenegro...	286,000	230,000	516,000
Rumania.....	7,234,000	274,000	7,508,000

To bound that part of Macedonia which Bulgaria wants one should draw a line east

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and west just under Uskub, in Servia, and include Monastir in the area to the south. One should also include, to the east of Salonika, the present Greek port of Kavala, and its hinterland to the north. These two regions include the two black portions on the accompanying map southwest of Bulgaria.

For five centuries, not only Macedonia, but also Bulgaria, Servia, and the rest of the Balkans, were smothered under Turkish oppression. Of all the Balkan States, Bulgaria has most strongly expressed the power of rejuvenation. This has been shown best in the domains of education and of arms. As to the first, the Bulgarians spend twice as much for elementary instruction as do the Servians, for instance. In higher education, the University of Sofia at the Bulgarian capital, and the high schools for both sexes at Philippopolis (the ancient Philippi of the New Testament), are giving good accounts of themselves, as are the high schools at Varna and elsewhere and the American Institute at Samakov, a secondary school for boys, organized over half a century ago by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Many of the teachers connected with the native Protestant mission work have been educated int his school. America has, indeed, been the chief factor in the making of Bulgaria. Under Dr. Hamlin and Dr. Washburn young Bulgars fitted themselves to become leaders of their people. Robert College is still furnishing men for hundreds of responsible positions in Bulgaria. Had it not been for the influence of this College, Bulgaria would doubtless have been dominated by Russian instead of by American ideals. Our vital connection with Bulgaria makes her present position of deep interest to all friends of civilization in this country, for America has certainly been Bulgaria's mentor. Our missionaries and educational agents are the more closely allied with the Bulgarians because of the greater freedom of religious opinion that exists there than in any other Balkan country, with the possible exception of Rumania. Certainly, in the quarter of a century of her existence, though brought into being ostensibly by Russia, Bulgaria has attained a liberty which Russia has not yet secured.

As to armies, one needs but to mention the battle of Lule-Burgas in the first Balkan War, doubtless one of the twenty greatest battles in history, to feel that the Bulgarian army is the most redoubtable fighting force in the Balkans. Military service in Bulgaria is universal and compulsory. The service begins at the age of twenty, and comprises two years in the infantry and three years in the other arms. Reservists are liable to be called out for three weeks' annual training. The peace strength of the army is supposed to be something under 350,000. The war strength is of course very much greater.

Many observers have been much puzzled at Bulgaria's long period of waiting. In this they may have not calculated upon the national characteristics. One of the first of these characteristics to strike the foreigner is placidity, which of course can degenerate into mere stolidity. At all events, in contrast with Greece, Servia, and even Rumania, Bulgaria represents a marked balance of poise.

Another quality is thrift. Bulgaria is a peasant state, but its lands, farms, and gardens are in a far better condition than those of the neighboring peasant state of Servia. As to economic wealth, the nation must be thrifty in order to obtain, as it did recently, one hundred million dollars from Berlin bankers. And this is the more significant because the Bulgarian Government explicitly declared that "the loan is a purely business transaction, and carries with it no political engagement whatsoever towards Germany or Austria." Its advantage to the Berlin bankers lies in their control of certain mining and transportation interests.

Another quality to be noted among the Bulgarians is that of sturdiness. It is true that their ruler is a foreigner, half German. But so is the ruler of Rumania, and the King of Greece himself is not very Greek! Even the King of Servia sits on the throne only by the right of vendetta. No one of these four nations will tolerate foreign rulers except in proportion as they identify themselves with native interests. It has already been noted that the rulers of Rumania and Bulgaria have bowed to the will of their people in the refusal to allow the transport of German munitions despite the Teuton reply that such a refusal is "an unfriendly act." But what is of much greater significance is the declaration of the Bulgarian Prime Minister that the Bulgarian army would at once march on Constantinople if Italy, France, England, and Russia would guarantee to Bulgaria that part of ancient Macedonia which she believes she ought to have.

Will they? The answer depends on Greece and Servia, and Greece has already given an indication through her powerful Premier of what she would do. Will Servia do as much?

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THE BRITISH NOTES

A POLL OF THE PRESS

OF the three latest communications from the British Government to ours, the first consists largely in a citation of precedents established or recognized by the United States in support of some of the British contentions concerning blockade and contraband; the second replies to the protest of our Government against the authority claimed for the British prize court; and the third is an answer to our complaint regarding the detention of the American steamship Neches and the diversion of her cargo. Says the Washington "Herald:"

All three of the notes address themselves directly to the contentions of this Government in detail and in the friendliest spirit, and are convincing of Great Britain's scrupulous care to avoid interfering with American commerce one step beyond what she considers imperative for her national preservation, while contending that all of her acts are justified by international law or usage. . . .

No deep study of the communications is necessary to convince any fair-minded American that Great Britain is not standing on made ground in the controversy that has arisen over her interference with commerce destined from a port of one neutral nation to the port of another neutral nation.

REPRISALS

The weak spot in the British contention is thus pointed out by the New York "Evening Sun," as well as by such well-known organs of public opinion as the Waterbury "American," the Philadelphia "Ledger," and the Minneapolis "Journal" in much the same language:

Undoubtedly the weak spot in the British note is the appeal to sympathy on account of Germany's barbarous practices, real or alleged. Undoubtedly our concern in these, so far as they are directed against England, is purely sentimental. Germany's injury of her enemy is no reason why her enemy should injure neutrals.

Both Britain and Germany have been magnanimous enough in offering relative rights, while denying the rights as laid down in our interpretation of law and tradition, thinks the Boston "Journal."

On the other hand, the Springfield "Republican" asserts:

Our Government has been disposed to recognize that the technic of the blockade has altered with the changes in conditions of naval warfare. It has not taken a stand against the extension of the principle of an area of hostilities, provided a fairway for shipping is left. It has not opposed the use of submarines against merchant shipping, provided the well-established principles of dealing with merchant vessels are observed. It has not insisted upon the letter of the law against Germany; it will not be likely to deal with the British note in a different spirit.

But between the two cases the difference is absolute and fundamental. Granting that the conditions of the present war may involve some modifications of existing law, it is possible to go on discussing those changes while commerce is disturbed; it is not possible to go on discussing them while innocent lives are being taken.

HOLLAND AND SCANDINAVIA

Shipments to Germany via Holland—the commerce that formerly went to Hamburg or Bremen—seem in the same category as commerce to Confederate ports via Nassau that formerly went direct, notes the New York "Globe," and adds:

But as to shipments via Denmark and Sweden there seems a difference. Germany's Baltic ports are not blockaded. Ships from Stockholm and Copenhagen daily enter them. There is basis for argument that, if Great Britain is unable to prevent Sweden and Denmark trading with Germany, she may not interfere with our goods going the same way.

Rejoinders are not lacking; for instance, the following from the Brooklyn "Citizen:"

It is said on behalf of our importers that the British blockade of Germany is not effective within the meaning of international law, because Great Britain is unable to prevent trade between Scandivanian countries via the Baltic Sea. Inasmuch as this country has officially recognized the effectiveness of the blockade, this contention is without merit.

THE AMERICAN POSITION

The British Government has indorsed several American doctrines relating to contraband, enemy goods, blockade, and continuous voyage. The Topeka "Capitol" thus defines two of them:

It is a doctrine first enunciated by the United States that a belligerent may rightfully seize the property of an enemy when found in any

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vessel, neutral or otherwise. This doctrine, set forth by Lincoln, was never approved by England until England appropriated it to its own use in its Order in Council of March 15 last. It is technically known as the doctrine of "enemy goods."

The doctrine of "continuous voyage" is also American and was enunciated by this Nation when great annoyance was caused by the indirect shipment of foreign supplies into the Confederate States via Mexican and Bahaman consignments. President Lincoln set out the principle that in enforcing a blockade the blockading nation had the right to consider the ultimate destination of the cargo, and where it was found that shipments to the Bahamas or to Mexico or other ostensible destination were in fact intended for the Confederacy, transshipment would be considered as an incident to the "continuous voyage" of such consignments from point of shipment to ultimate destination.

The Topeka paper continues:

One other doctrine first enunciated by the Lincoln Administration is to some extent involved in the present controversy with Great Britain regarding the British blockade of Germany. It was Lincoln who brought up the point that, owing to the radical change that steam had effected in the speed of modern ships, and therefore the wide restraint exercised by them in a blockade, the old-time requirement, in the definition of an effective blockade, that an actual cordon of ships must extend across harbors or entrances to enemy ports is done away with, since a wide-spreading line of ships, at a great distance from any enemy port, might nowadays in actual fact exercise an effective blockade. It was on this theory that the blockade of Southern ports was conducted by the Lincoln Administration. Precisely this principle, more broadly extended, is set up by England in her Order in Council of March 15.

The Boston "Transcript" thus comments:

It is no frank and adequate answer for Sir Edward Grey to turn back to the American Civil War as a parallel and contend that the present course of his Government in obstructing neutral trade is comparable with the course of the United States in 1861–65 toward the Bermudas and Bahamas and the Mexican Rio Grande. All the underlying conditions are different.

And the Sioux Falls "Press:"

England is disposed to hold the United States to the precedents that dovetail with her own present policies, and to insist that the changed tactics and mechanism of modern warfare should render obsolete the precedents upon which we depend.

The Columbia "State" concludes as follows:

While no doubt the United States will be able to make out an excellent case, the plain fact remains that it left nothing undone to starve the Confederacy, and, in fact, did starve it, showing small scruple for the rights of neutral nations during the process.

ARBITRATION

Says the Buffalo "Commercial"—and many other papers say the same:

It must be remembered that the legality of the Orders in Council has not yet been passed upon by any prize court; but any American claimant in such tribunal has the privilege of submitting the point that the orders are not consistent with the principles of international law, and if the decision is unsatisfactory to the claimant our Government may enter the claim that it should be subjected to review by an international tribunal. Could anything be fairer than this? In what striking contrast is the spirit of this note to that of the German replies to our protests in the Lusitania affair! When two countries are animated by a sense of justice and regard for the rights of each other, an accommodation of their different points of view can readily be arranged.

CONCLUSIONS

The body of comment in the American press for and against the British position is reflected in two criticisms. The first is from the Washington "Times:"

Great Britain declines to concede the contentions in our complaint against various protested incidents of the Allies' blockade of Germany, and we are bound to say that, so far as the circumstances of those cases are known to the public, Great Britain is right.

The Allies, while adapting their blockade to the new conditions of warfare exactly as we adapted ours to the new conditions of warfare half a century ago, have been doing no more and no less.

The second is from the South Bend, Indiana, "Tribune:"

The normal condition of the world is one of peace. War is an abnormal condition. The rights of neutrals to trade with whomever they please in time of peace cannot be questioned. Rights of neutrals to trade with neutrals in war time have always been recognized. To forego that principle is to turn the whole world over to whatever best suits the whims, exigencies, or necessities of belligerents. That, in sum, is what Great Britain is asking us to do. That is what we cannot do. That is what the American caveat warned we would not do.

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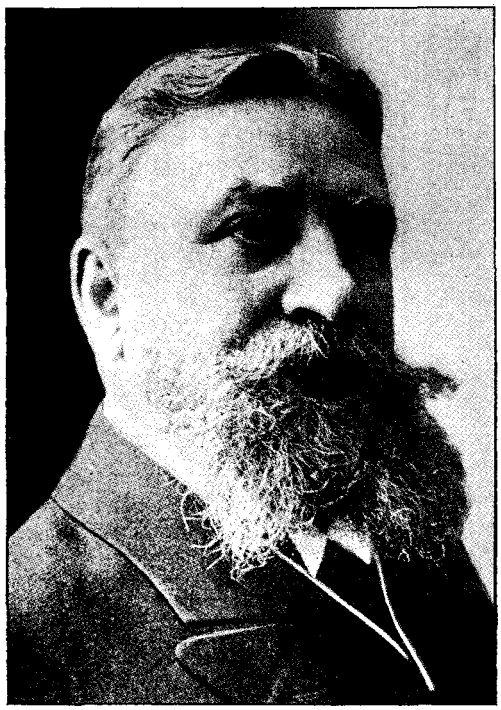
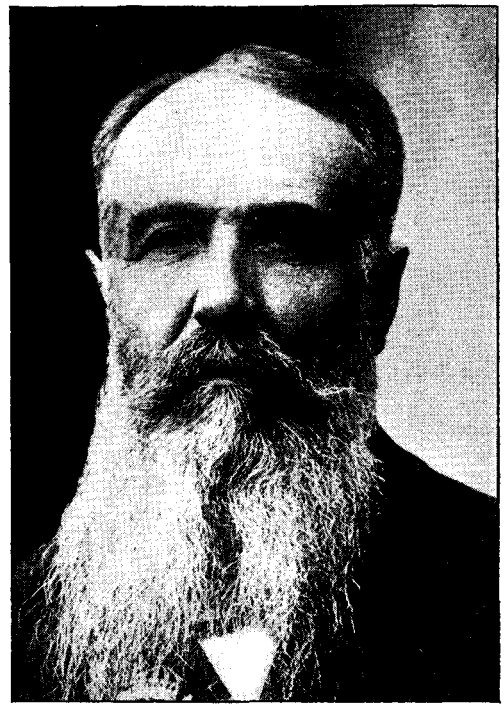
Current Events Pictorially Treated



BASIL RADOSLAVOFF, PREMIER OF BULGARIA



NIKOLAUS PASHITCH, PREMIER OF SERVIA

JAN BRATIANO, PREMIER OF RUMANIA

ELEUTHERIOS VENIZELOS, PREMIER OF GREECE

FOUR MEN WHO MAY DECIDE THE DESTINIES OF SOUTHERN EUROPE

See editorial review of the situation in the Balkans

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PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

"FINE THINGS IN WAR"

The monument shown above was recently erected at Avricourt, France, by German soldiers, in honor both of their own comrades and of French soldiers who had fallen in the battles in that vicinity

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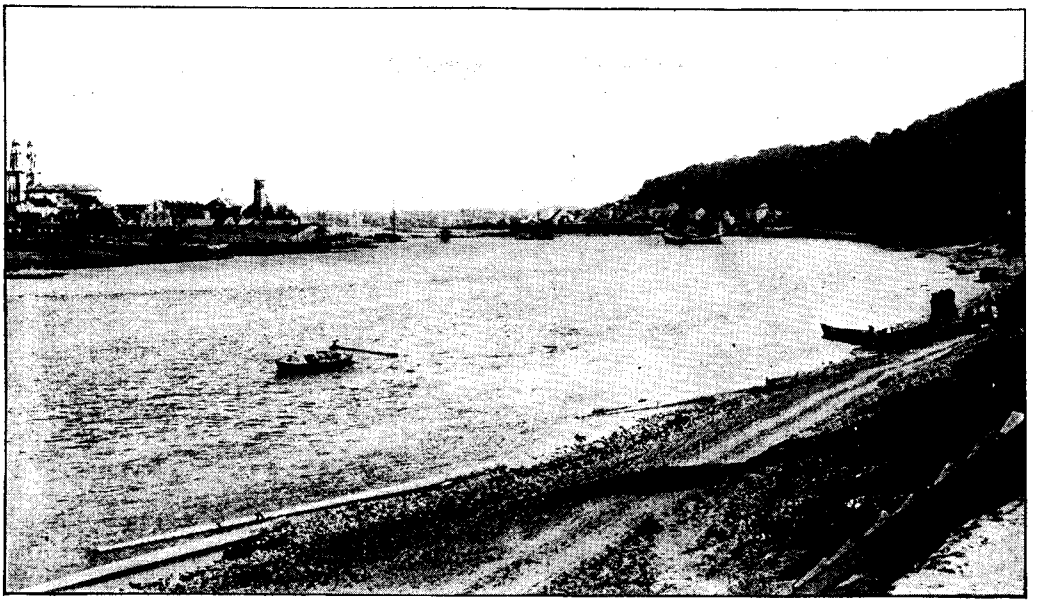

KOVNO

Kovno "consists of a cramped Old Town and a New Town stretching up the side of the Niemen River." It has a population of about 75,000, nearly one-half being Jews. It is a first-class fortress; but, like other "first-class fortresses," it may succumb to the huge guns that are now being used to reduce fortified places

RIGA

This ancient city is the second city of the Russian Empire for foreign trade on the Baltic, ranking next after Petrograd. It contains about 300,000 inhabitants

TWO RUSSIAN CITIES THAT HAVE BEEN THREATENED BY THE GERMAN INVASION

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POLISH PEASANTS SHOWING THE ROAD TO TYROLEAN SHARPSHOOTERS ON THE WAY TO WARSAW

This striking photograph, which might almost be likened to a painting by Detaille or de Neuville, illustrates a phase of the great war which has not often been pictured. The enemy's cavalry have just arrived, and they are seeking guides and information. The fact that the peasants in Russian Poland have no great love for their Russian masters makes this service to the Austro-German forces seem less dishonorable than it might be under other conditions

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PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

A WEDDING IN WAR-GIRDLED GERMANY

In this interesting wedding procession, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, the German Chancellor, is seen in the foreground with his newly married daughter, while her husband, Count Zech-Burkeswode, with the bride's mother, walks behind the Chancellor and the bride. The preponderance of women in the picture is a suggestion of the fact that millions of the men of Germany are at the front

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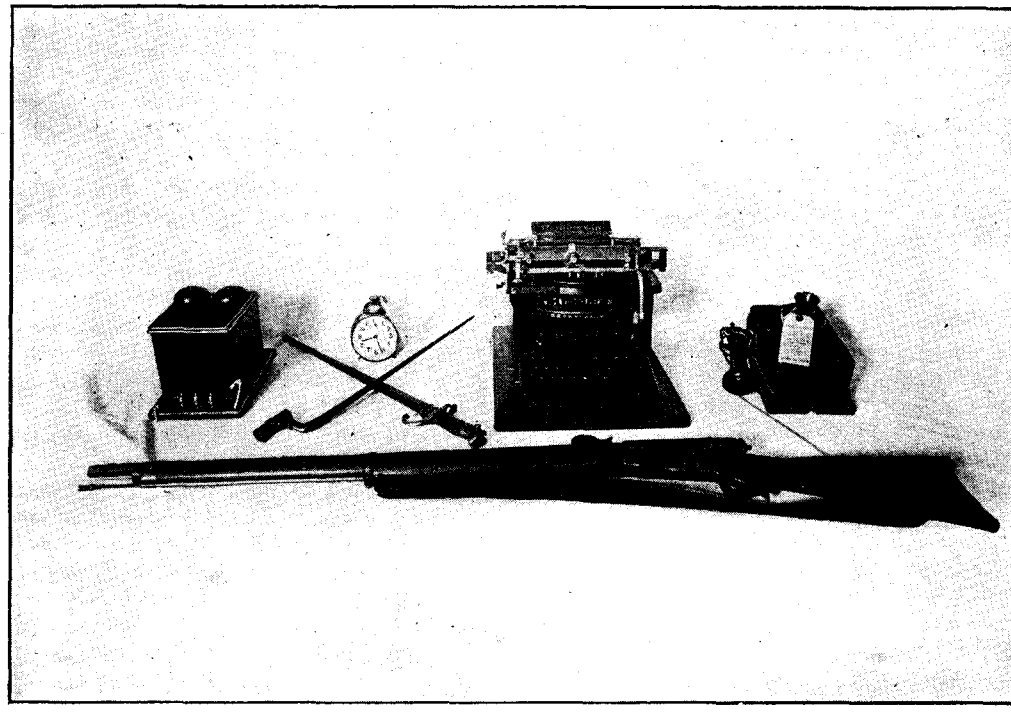

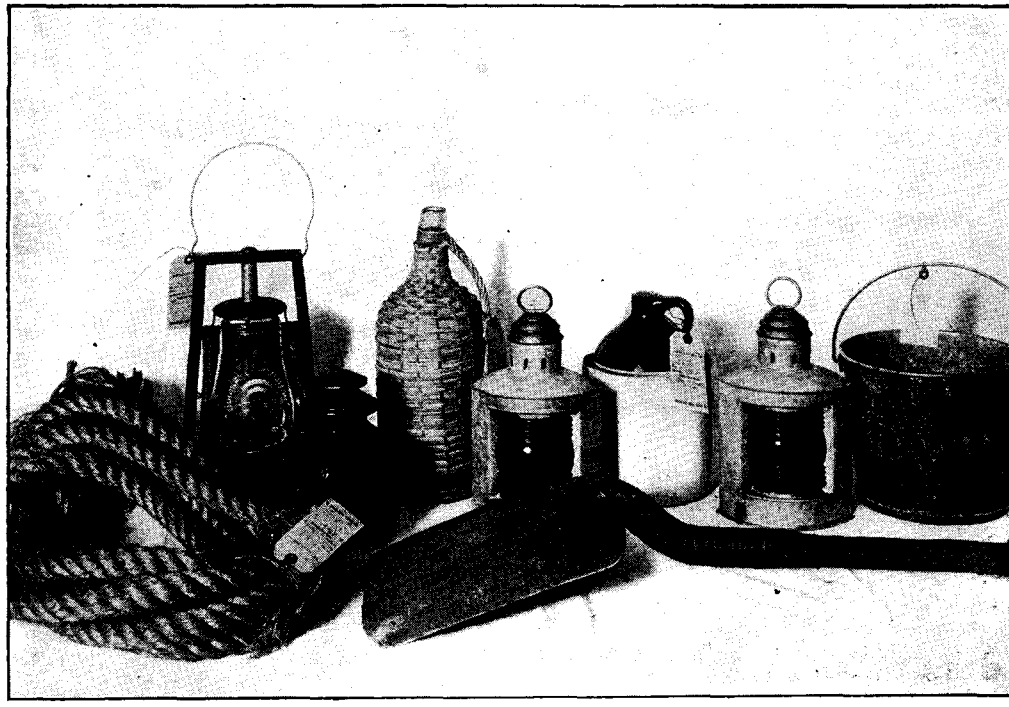

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WOULD YOU FORGET TO TAKE THESE ARTICLES FROM THE TRAIN?

Some one has forgotten them, and they have been discovered in vacant seats of the New York City Subway, where they have been left by absent-minded owners. They are kept, awaiting reclamation by the owners, in a new building which now houses the "Lost and Found" Department of the Subway

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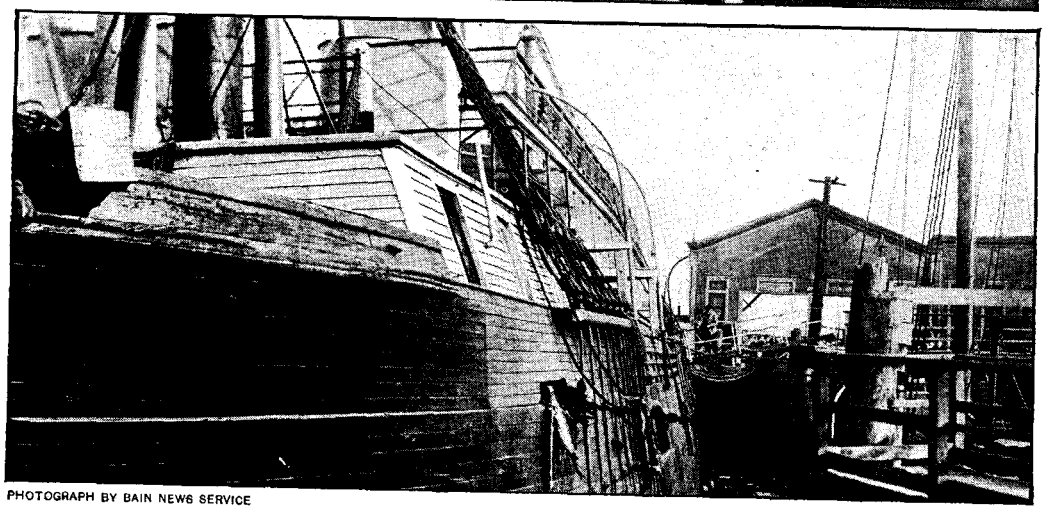

PHOTOGRAPH BY BAIN NEWS SERVICE

ONE OF THE QUEEREST HOTELS IN THE WORLD

This ship, the Jacob A. Stamler, has for several years been maintained by the Arbuckle Estate as a hotel for working-girls. It has been moored at the foot of East Twenty-third Street, New York City, where the river breezes have made it specially attractive as a summer boarding-house. The low rates have scarcely paid the expenses, and there has been some talk of abandoning the enterprise, but it is hoped that arrangements may be made to continue the use of the old square-rigger in its unique career as a lodging-house

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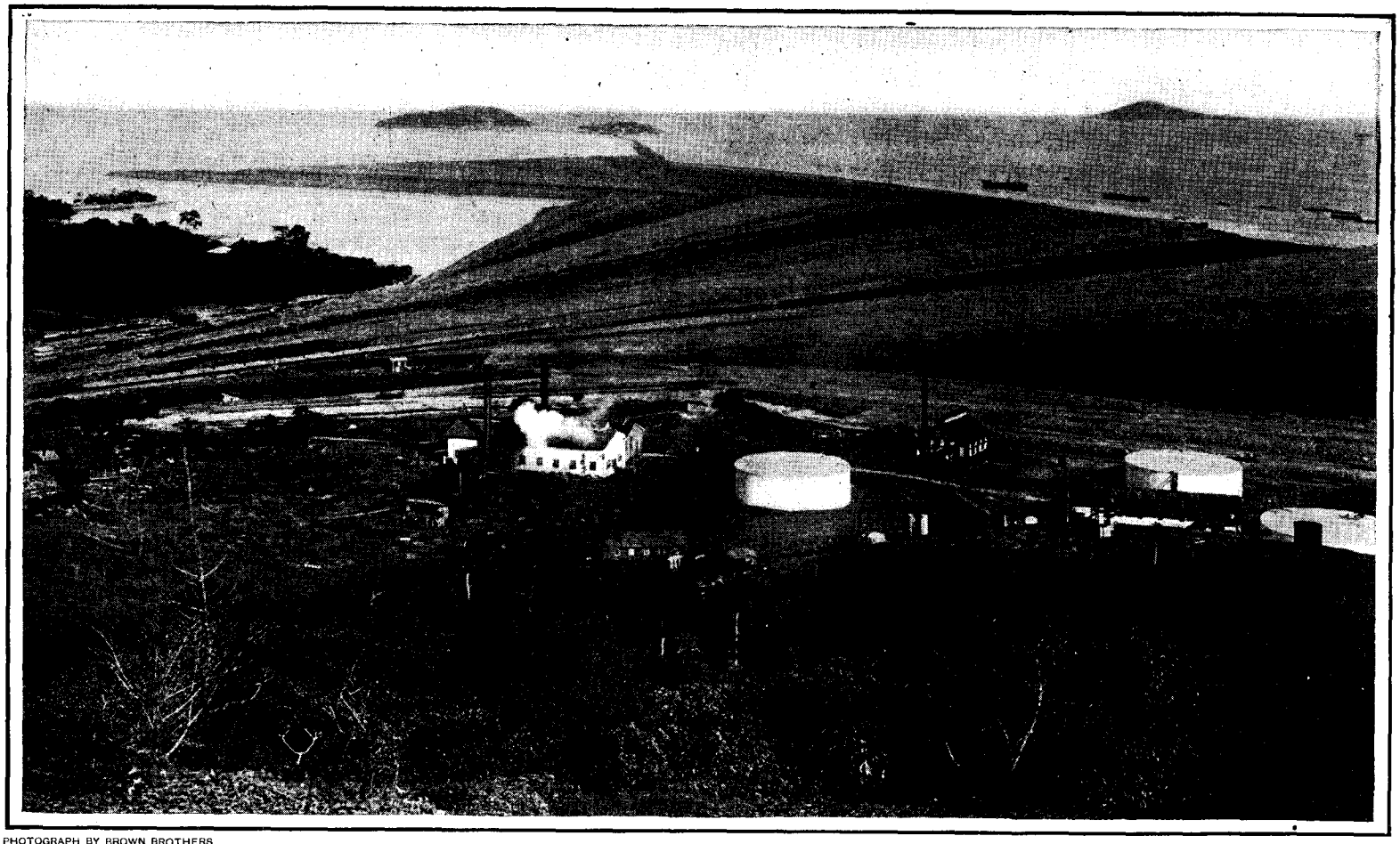

PHOTOGRAPH BY BROWN BROTHERS

THE NAOS ISLAND BREAKWATER FROM SOSA HILL

The picture shows the Flamenco Islands in the background. These islands are situated in Panama Bay, and the United States Government is building strong forts and batteries to protect the entrance to the Canal

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THE FUTURE OF THE PANAMA CANAL

FIRST ARTICLE

THE PANAMA CANAL IN TIME OF WAR

BY GEORGE H. BLAKESLEE

*The author of the series of articles of which this is the first, Dr. George H. Blakeslee, is Professor of History and International Relations at Clark University. He has made an extensive study, at Panama and in other countries, of the value of the Canal to the world at large, and of its influence on the United States, on South America, and elsewhere. Professor Blakeslee in these articles will consider the world's trade, health and sanitary conditions, the military situation and possible political effects of the Canal. The present article will be followed by "Panama and the Conquest of the Tropics," "The Results of the Panama Canal on World Trade—North America," and "The Results of the Panama Canal on World Trade—South America and the Far East."—*THE EDITORS.

IF war comes, the Panama Canal will be the most important military possession of the United States. "The most vital spot strategically in the whole world," it has been called. It will be of more value to us than the Suez Canal is to Great Britain or the Kiel Canal to Germany; for if control of the Canal were lost and a hostile fleet should make an attack from the Pacific Ocean, our entire Western coast would be defenseless.

The Panama Canal, however, is reasonably safe from capture, which is most consoling, in view of the recent severe criticism of our military unpreparedness. The three men whose judgment is probably the best in the matter agree that the defenses are adequate to stand off any hostile fleet that may be expected to come against it. These military experts are Colonel George W. Goethals, Governor of the Canal Zone; Brigadier-General William Crozier, Chief of Ordnance, United States Army; and General E. M. Weaver, Chief of Coast Artillery. In their testimony, in January, before the House Appropriations Committee in relation to the fortifications of the Panama Canal the following statements were made:

The Chairman. Do the guns that have been provided meet the requirements of the defenses of the Canal from the standpoint of the best military judgment?

General Crozier. In my opinion they do. Yes.

Question. Is it the judgment of the War Department that the fortifications now at Panama are adequate to withstand any attack that could be brought against them from the sea?

General Crozier. In the consideration of this subject by several groups of officers best fitted to express an opinion a doubt on that subject has never been raised. It has always been accepted just as you state it—that these defenses are adequate.

Question (to General Weaver). Do you feel that the Government would be warranted now in making the expenditure necessary to place guns of greater caliber at Panama than those we now have?

General Weaver. No, I do not.

Similar testimony to the adequacy of the fortifications at the Canal was given by Colonel Goethals during the hearings.

The whole system of defense at Panama—cannon, mortars, mines, submarines, infantry, cavalry, and artillery troops—has followed out the plans carefully made by the Panama Fortification Board, of both army and navy officers, which was appointed in 1909. Both ends of the Canal have been found well adapted for defense. On the Pacific side there is a group of small islands situated three miles in front of the point at which the Canal enters the ocean. Here strong fortifications have been erected. On the Atlantic, the large guns have been placed on either side of Limon Bay, over a mile and a half in advance of the entrance of the Canal into the deep water of the bay. The armament which protects the two ends of the Canal consists of one 16-inch, ten 14-inch, twelve 6-inch rifled cannon, all mounted on disap-

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pearing gun-carriages, and twenty-eight 12-inch mortars of a new and powerful type. The 16-inch cannon is more effective than any now carried on any ship afloat; and the 14-inch cannon, after a slight enlargement of the powder-chambers, which is now being made, will carry as far as the 15-inch guns now mounted on a very few of the newer ships, such as the British Queen Elizabeth. As soon as an artilleryman at the "fire control" of one of these 14-inch cannon is barely able to make out in the far distance the upper part of the hull of an enemy's battle-ship, just coming above the horizon, he can fire a 1,660-pound shot which will reach it. The purpose of these large rifled cannon is to send a heavy shell at "direct fire"—that is, aimed at an angle generally not over 15 degrees—with such terrific force that it will tear through the side of an approaching battle-ship. They can shoot through over eleven inches of the best steel armor at nearly nine miles distance. The mortars fire at "high angle"—about 45 degrees on an average—and aim to have their shells fall upon and crash through the decks of hostile ships. A shot from one of the 12-inch mortars will pierce any battle-ship deck now in existence.

In a fight between forts, such as those at Panama, and an attacking fleet the advantage is decidedly with the forts. Guns in fortifications are estimated to have several times the efficiency of the same number of the same guns on board a rolling ship; for on land they rest upon an absolutely stable foundation, and are able to secure the exact range of the ship with much greater accuracy than the ship can of the fort. A single shell, too, that takes effect will probably damage a battle-ship or cruiser much more than it will a fort. "Vessels are not, and never will be, able to fight forts on equal terms," is the way the British Admiral Seymour expressed this fact after he had bombarded the forts at Alexandria in 1882. Within the past few weeks the striking failure of the allied British and French fleets to silence the forts on the Dardanelles, even though among the ships was the Queen Elizabeth with its battery of 15-inch guns, illustrates again the advantage of the land fortifications.

But even if the guns at Panama were outdistanced by those of a hostile fleet, the forts would not necessarily be destroyed. The cannon in the German forts on their North Sea coast are only 11-inch in caliber, yet the British fleet with its 15-inch cannon keeps at a most respectful distance. Mines and submarines play an important part in the defenses of Panama, as they do in the German harbors. Mine fields have been laid to protect the approaches to the Canal, and practice has already been made of blowing up dummy battle-ships which have been towed over the planted mines.

Five submarines are now regularly stationed at the Canal. The 6-inch cannon are to prevent interference with the mine fields and to repulse landing parties in the neighborhood of the Canal. A number of immense searchlights are now being installed at each end of the Canal to guard against a surprise at night. In addition, there is a permanent garrison of infantry, cavalry, and field artillery. There are already three regiments of infantry in the Canal Zone—two of them arrived during the last few months; these, with the other troops and the coast artillery, total at present about five thousand men. They have rapid-fire guns and twenty-four 4.7-inch howitzers of a new type especially developed for the Panama Canal troops, while defenses have been erected from which they may repulse a land attack. This garrison has now about three-fourths of the number of soldiers which the Panama Defense Board recommended should be kept permanently in the Canal Zone.

While more work needs to be done on the forts, most of the guns are now ready for use, and the necessary supply of ammunition, according to Colonel Goethals, is already on the Isthmus. In case of early war, then, the present defenses could probably stand off a hostile fleet, while the garrison could repulse an ordinary landing force of marines from any suddenly arrived hostile squadron. This system of defense makes the Canal reasonably safe except from an attack by a relatively large body of soldiers. If there is any apprehension of this, the Canal would need to be strongly and immediately reinforced from the United States, for the present garrison would then be totally inadequate. Military and naval opinion favors maintaining a much stronger permanent garrison at the Canal, since the facilities for transporting troops from the United States are unsatisfactory, and it would be difficult to obtain the soldiers in time of urgent need. It is probable, however, that an enemy would not attempt to invest the Canal by a strong force unless it had already secured the control of the sea,

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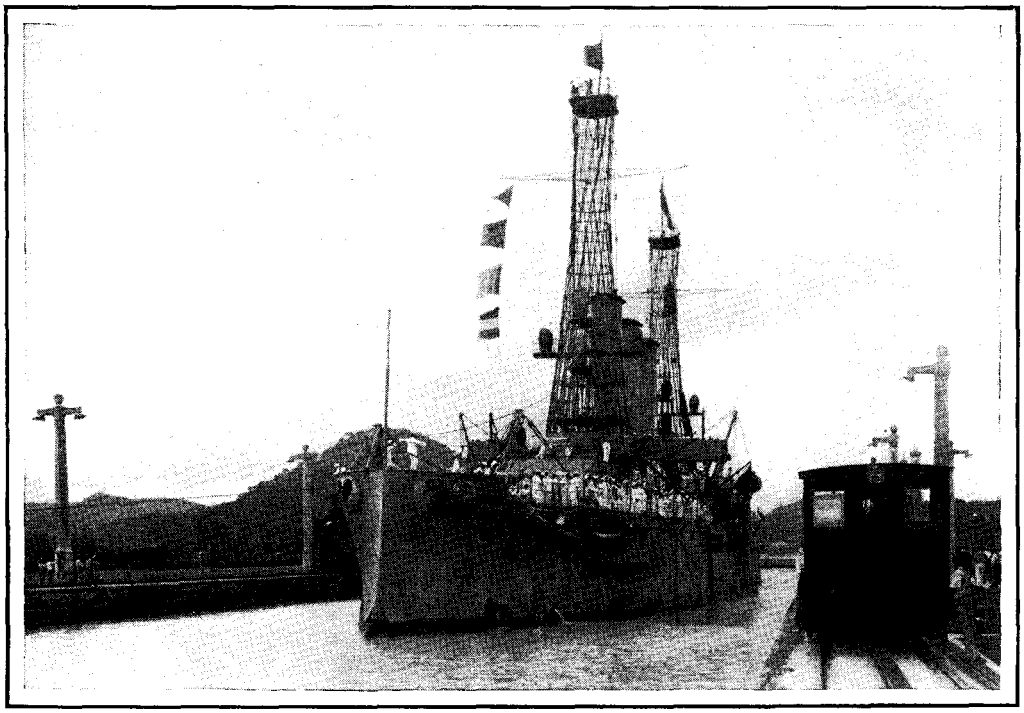
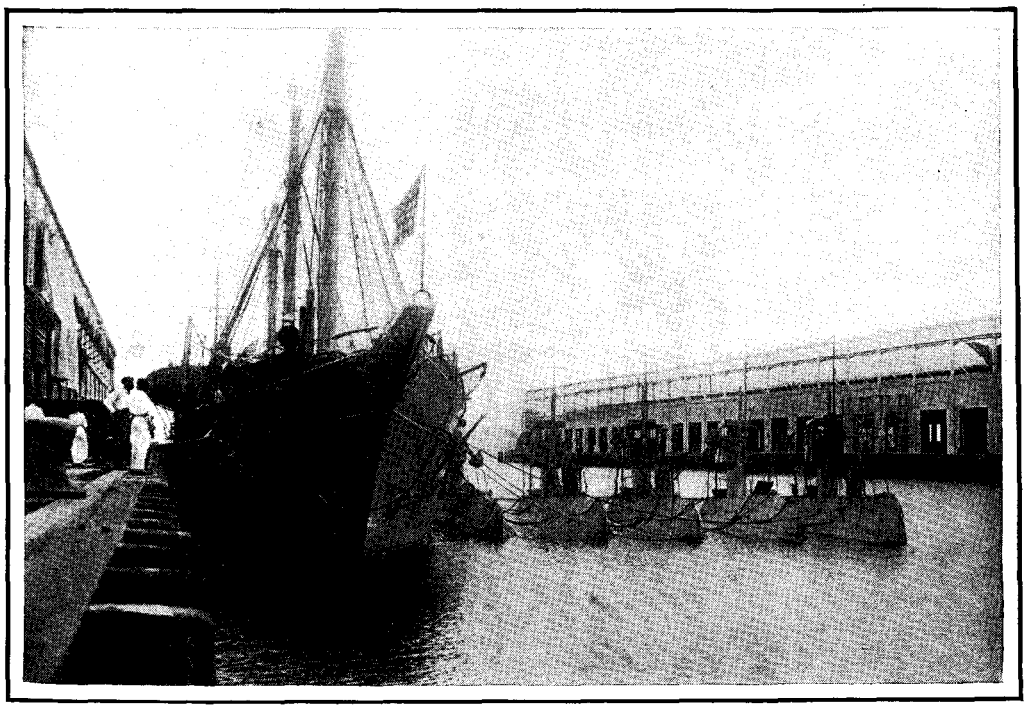


PHOTOGRAPH BY INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE

BOUND FOR THE PACIFIC THROUGH THE PANAMA CANAL

The first of the great battle-ships of the United States Navy which passed through the Panama Canal were the Missouri (flag-ship), Ohio and Wisconsin. They entered the Canal July 16 last. These ships were transporting naval cadets to San Francisco for the Panama-Pacific Exposition. The vessels add to the naval strength of the Pacific Coast



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A SUBMARINE FLOTILLA AT COLON

These five submarines came under their own power from Guantanamo, Cuba, to Colon, accompanied by the monitor Montauk and a collier. They will take their station on the Pacific side to guard the Canal entrance in case of hostilities

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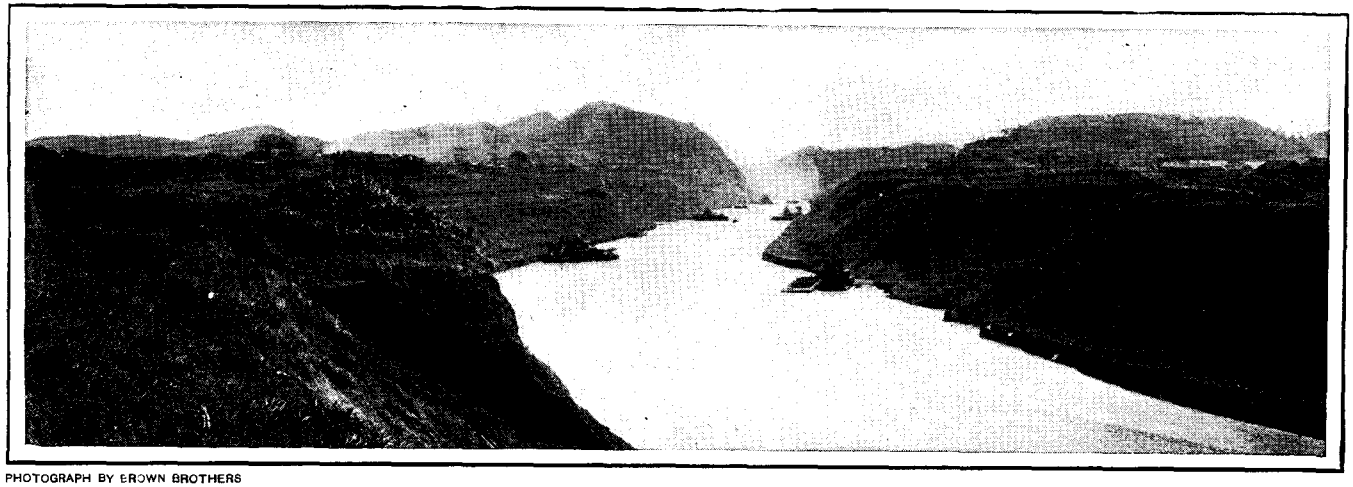

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A VIEW OF CULEBRA CUT

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A TEMPORARY CAMP OF UNITED STATES COAST ARTILLERY AT COROZAL

These artillerymen will be assigned to the various fortifications in and about the Canal Zone

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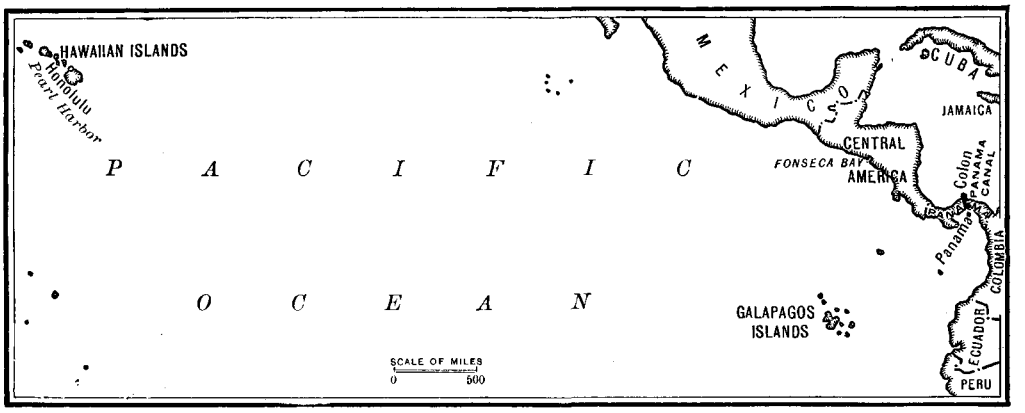

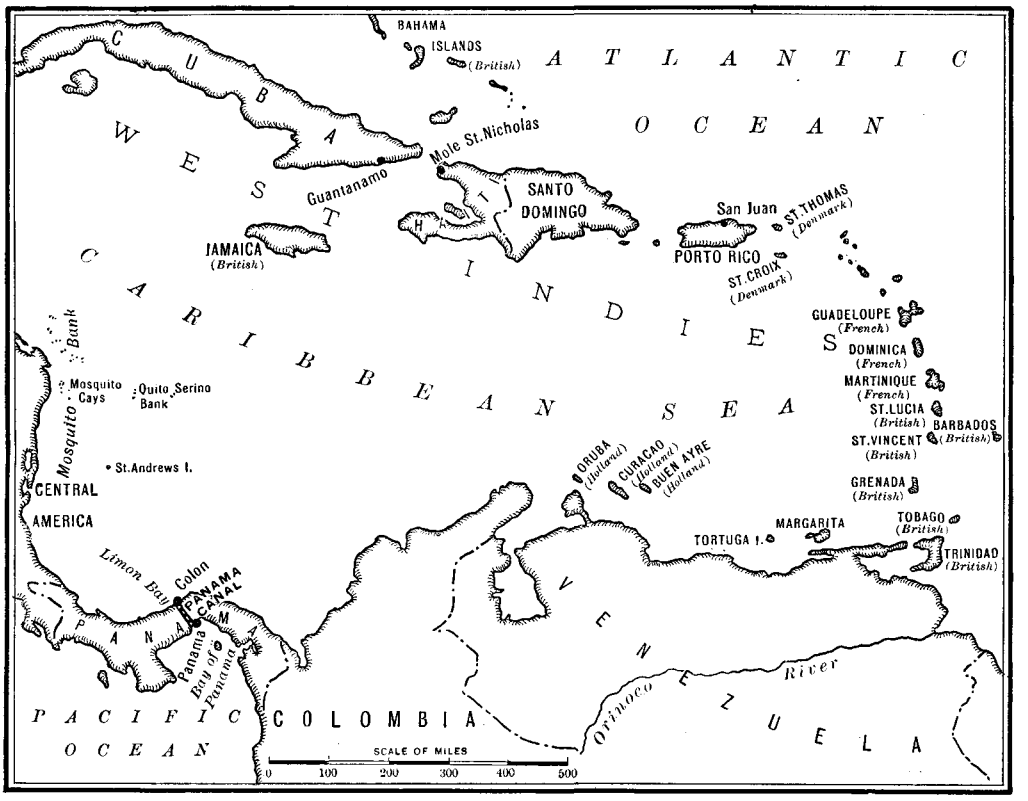

THESE MAPS SHOW THE POSITIONS AND DISTANCES FROM THE PANAMA CANAL OF THE UNITED STATES NAVAL BASES AND OTHER IMPORTANT PLACES

NOTE.—These two maps are not on the same scale. If the map of the Pacific approaches to the Canal, at the top of the page, were made on the same scale as the lower map, it would extend, between Hawaii and Central America, to a width of one foot and five inches

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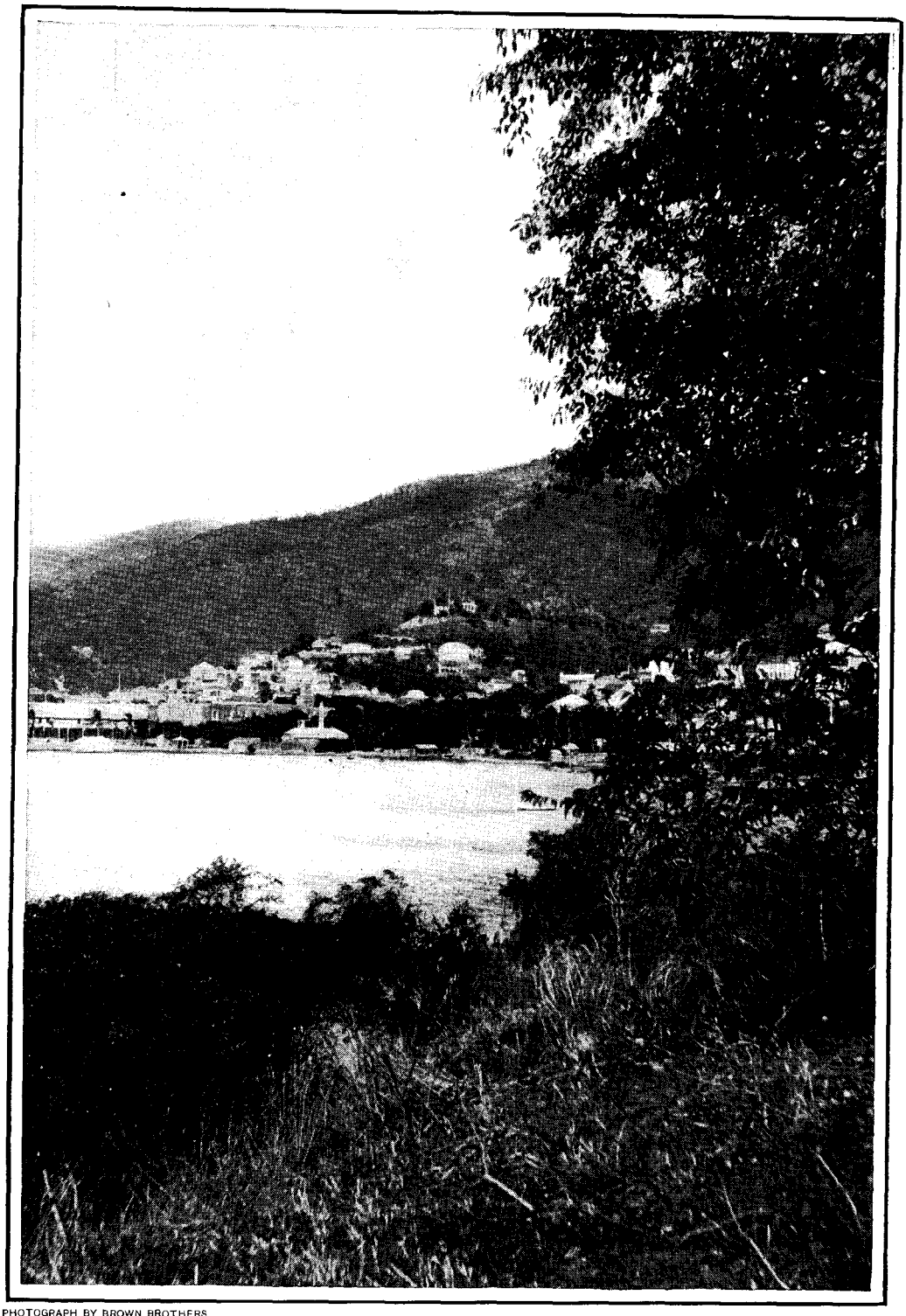

PHOTOGRAPH BY BROWN BROTHERS

THE ISLAND OF ST. THOMAS

This island has many ridges and projecting peninsulas which can be strongly fortified. It controls one of the passages to the Canal on the Atlantic side. See page 975

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as the British and the French had in the Mediterranean before they landed troops at the Dardanelles.

The fortifications at Panama are not merely to protect the Canal, but to make a strong naval base at this strategic point. If our fleet should be in the Atlantic—it is the present accepted naval strategy to keep the battle-ships together—and an unexpected war should suddenly bring a hostile fleet to the Pacific entrance of the Canal, it would still be possible for our ships to go through the Canal and form in line of battle, protected by the great guns of the forts, even though the hostile fleet did its best to prevent the passage. After a battle or stress of weather the ships may withdraw to the Canal for fuel, supplies, and repairs. One of the largest dry-docks in the world will be ready within about eight months, while complete arrangements for supplies have already been made. Great quantities of coal and fuel oil are now kept in readiness at the Canal depots. The fortifications will free our fleet from the necessity of constantly guarding the Canal; they will permit our ships to make for the enemy, whether in the Atlantic or the Pacific, with the assurance that the Canal will be safe while they are away, and that it will be ready as a supply base when they return.

In the last analysis, however, everything depends on the navy; if it should be destroyed as a fighting force, the Canal will go too, for nothing could then prevent a large expedition of soldiers from landing beyond the range of the heavy guns, investing and capturing the Isthmus, fortifications and all, as the allied armies are attempting to capture the defenses along the Dardanelles. Admiral Mahan formerly said: "Canal or no Canal, if a fleet be distinctly inferior, it can protect the coast committed to its charge only to a limited degree and for a limited time; . . . permanent [naval] inferiority means inevitable ultimate defeat, which fortifications can only delay."

The extreme importance of the Canal makes it vital from a military point of view to guard well its approaches in both oceans. Great Britain has no permanent fortifications at Suez, but holds it by its fleet and its fortified advanced bases at Gibraltar, Malta, Egypt, and Aden. A hostile squadron would have difficulty in making a serious attack upon Panama, if it had no naval base in the neighborhood from which it could operate, and if the United States maintained a strong naval force, even though it might not be fully equal to that of the enemy.

On the Pacific side we are fortunate in possessing the Hawaiian Islands, the most important strategic point in that ocean. Pearl Harbor, near Honolulu, is naturally one of the best naval bases in the world; it has been strongly fortified, and the island is now garrisoned by nearly eight thousand soldiers. The conditions at Hawaii are somewhat like those at Panama; the fortifications are strong enough to stand off a direct naval attack—all of the seacoast batteries, including 14-inch guns and 12-inch mortars, which the War Department has considered necessary, are now mounted and ready for instant use—but the garrison is insufficient for defense against a large body of troops landing on the side of the island not covered by the heavy guns. "All military persons will recognize," says General W. W. Wotherspoon, Chief of Staff, in his annual report of this year, "that the proposed garrison in this possession is far below what it should be to meet a serious attack, unless, in this case again, we have an adequate force on the Pacific Coast ready to despatch to the islands when trouble is impending." Between Hawaii and the American mainland there is no island held by any non-American power. "Our naval base at Pearl Harbor," says ex-Secretary of War Stimson, "is the real defense against any sustained attack, not only upon Panama from the west, but upon the whole Pacific coast. Properly held and protected, it would make it extremely hazardous, if not virtually impossible, for any nation to ship an army in transports across the Pacific Ocean."

There is another group of islands, however, much nearer Panama than Hawaii, which might be made a naval base; these are the Galapagos Islands, southwest of the Canal, which belong to Ecuador. During the past few years the United States has negotiated at least twice for the purchase or lease of this group. While unsuccessful, it is understood that our Government has now completely blocked similar proposals made by a European Power. A new naval base at Fonseca Bay may yet be secured from Nicaragua; this large bay is situated on the western coast of Central America, about nine hundred miles north of Panama. The lease of a naval station here is provided for in the treaty already made with Nicaragua but as yet unratified by the United States

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Senate. This base would be especially valuable as a stopping-place in the long voyage from Panama to California. But so long as Hawaii is strongly held and the Galapagos Islands remain in possession of Ecuador, the Pacific approach to the Canal is fairly well protected.

On the Atlantic side the United States possesses excellent bases. Guantanamo, on the southeastern coast of Cuba, has one of the most commodious harbors in the Caribbean. While it is not yet sufficiently fortified and equipped, it is an admirable advanced position from which our fleet may operate. But European states also have possessions in this region. Great Britain owns a large proportion of the West Indies, and in Jamaica has probably the strongest strategic position in the Caribbean. During the past twenty years, however, the British garrisons have all been withdrawn from these islands, with the exception of some four hundred European troops at Jamaica, and for some time no British fleet of any strength has been maintained in these waters. The policy of Great Britain is definitely based upon the theory that there is no reasonable likelihood of a war with the United States. The French have fortified Guadeloupe and Martinique, but these are on the western outskirts of the Caribbean, and their military value is neutralized by positions nearer the Canal held by the United States. These islands are not sufficiently strong to furnish the kind of a base an invading fleet would really need; besides, there seems little likelihood of a serious conflict between French and American policies in this hemisphere.

There is another great European Power, however, which undoubtedly wishes to secure naval bases in the Caribbean. This means an ominous clash of national interests, for our country intends to control the naval approaches to the Canal; it purposes to prevent any non-American Power from securing new naval bases, extensions of sovereignty, or dangerously monopolistic concessions in this greater Canal Zone. As Senator Root has well said: "The universal judgment of all responsible students of the subject concurs in teaching that the potential command of the route to and from the Canal must rest with the United States." The reasonableness of this position is often recognized in other countries. The Argentine statesman Señor Zabellos has said: "The Caribbean Sea washes the richest part of the United States, and it is necessary that it be dominated by them in order to guarantee the independence and security of the United States."

The most threatening danger to our control of the Caribbean approaches to the Canal comes from Germany, naturally land-hungry for colonies and naval bases. That this greatest of military Powers aimed to secure a foothold in Venezuelan territory in 1901 seems clear. In the early part of that year our State Department received information that German war-ships were secretly inspecting the Santa Margarita Islands, with the purpose of seizing them as a naval base. The Secretary of State, John Hay, then sent an official despatch to Berlin stating that any attempt on the part of a European Power to acquire the Venezuelan coast island of Margarita "would be a source of concern to this Government, if not tending to the embarrassment of the cordial and frank relations" between the United States and such Power. Furthermore, the United States Government, according to the recent statement of Dr. William Roscoe Thayer, based upon his study of Secretary Hay's unpublished letters, gave Germany ten days in which to agree to arbitrate its claims against Venezuela, and meanwhile secretly ordered the American fleet to sail for Venezuelan waters. The claims were arbitrated, and the immediate danger was past; but for the next few years our naval officials chiefly concerned themselves over a possible German attack in the Caribbean. More recently, whether still justified or not, there has been an almost constantly recurring suspicion of German aggression in this region.

As for the future, if the present war ends with Germany still a strong Power, and the old system of international rivalry in armies and navies continues, with its deadly race for military superiority, its mutual fear, and its unscrupulous land-grabbing, then it will be very clearly to Germany's interest to seize, if possible, a strong naval base in the Caribbean, which is the most desirable region in the western Atlantic. Her leaders believe that her one great lack in this present struggle has been sufficient naval strength. A securely fortified base in the Caribbean would have been of immense advantage a few months ago in the attack upon British commerce. As one of the supports for the still greater fleet which Germany will naturally begin to build after the war is over, such a position will be even more necessary.

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Unless the nations then shall be able to do away with the present competitive militarism by the formation of some league for mutual defense or by a stringent limitation of armaments, there will probably be a serious clash of interests between Germany and the United States in the region of the Panama Canal. It will be Germany's interest to secure a naval base in the important greater Canal Zone; it will be ours to prevent it.

The harbors or islands which Germany would naturally attempt to secure are those belonging to relatively weak states. Probably the best naval base in the Caribbean is Mole St. Nicolas, owned by Haiti, a land whose recent bloody faction-fighting is merely the climax of decades of recurring bankruptcy, revolution, and anarchy. This harbor on the northwestern part of the island has been described as "a point of supreme strategic importance in relation to the Isthmian waterways;" near its entrance pass about eighty per cent of all the traffic to and from the Canal. During the past few months the United States Government has been making efforts to secure a lease of this harbor for a naval station in return for providing money for the Haitian Government and supervising the collection of its customs. The effort has been unsuccessful, since Haiti has secured the necessary loan, about one million dollars, from French bankers. A year ago, before the war broke out, when our Government made an earlier attempt to secure such a financial supervision in Haiti as it exercises in Santo Domingo, Germany and France objected and demanded full participation in any financial control established in the island. It was reported at that time that a German syndicate backed by the Kaiser's Government had offered to finance the bankrupt Government in return for the lease of a coaling station. Whether the official denial from Berlin was quite candid or not, the circumstance shows the disquieting possibilities of the situation.

Another possible base is the island of St. Thomas, one of the tiny group owned by little Denmark. Situated just east of Porto Rico, it partly controls one of the passages to the Canal. Admiral Porter, in Civil War times, called it "the keystone to the arch of the West Indies;" military experts state that its extensive ridges and projecting peninsulas are capable of being made absolutely impregnable to assault by either land or sea. Twice the United States Government has signed treaties for the purchase of these islands. The first was defeated in 1869 by the United States Senate; the second, signed in 1901, was lost by a tie vote in the upper house of the Danish Legislature. It has frequently been stated that it was German influence which secured the rejection of the treaty. At present the Hamburg-American Steamship Company, so closely associated with the Imperial Government, is the dominant factor in these Danish possessions.

The island of Curaçao is also important; it belongs to Holland. Situated on the western part of the northern coast of Venezuela, it lies along the route to the Canal from the South Atlantic. As a recent writer remarks, "the possession of Curaçao or its absolute neutrality is essential to the defense of the Isthmian Canal in the case of war between the United States and any considerable naval power."

These possible naval bases—natural protectors of the Canal—are in the hands of weak states. Haiti is defenseless, revolutionary, and bankrupt, while Denmark and Holland by themselves are unable to resist German demands. So long as the United States has neither definite influence nor control over these places, they naturally afford a temptation to Germany—which is entirely without possessions in the West Indies—to secure them by concession, purchase, or conquest. Should this be done in any one of these cases, it would not only endanger the security of the approach to the Canal, but would also give the most powerful military state in the world a fortified base within striking distance of our own shores.

How may the present position of the United States in this greater Canal Zone be safeguarded? A league of nations, if possible, such as is now strongly urged in this country, to be a practical bar against all military conquest; in the meantime, at least, a navy strong enough to protect the Caribbean against any fleet likely to attack it; the purchase, if it can be arranged, of the Danish and the Dutch islands, even at a very high price; the establishment and maintenance of stable governments in the Caribbean, by extending to such a weak island country as Haiti either the kind of protectorate we have in Cuba or the financial supervision which exists in Santo Domingo or both—all these would be excellent means of protection against possible European aggression.

Of particular importance, however, is the

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further development of the principle of Pan-Americanism. A more complete co-operation with other American republics would add moral and military strength to the defense of the entire continent; it would have the power to aid greatly in restoring stable government in such lands as Mexico, where anarchy invites European interference; and, by settling our own international difficulties by joint action, it would present an America united against the militarism of the Old World. In the United States during the past two or three years there has been a wide swing in educated public opinion towards this policy of genuine co-operation with the leading republics to the south of us. Our best public opinion has come to believe that even our cherished Monroe Doctrine should be placed upon some kind of a Pan-American foundation. Now that intervention seems more probable in Mexico, a vigorous demand is being made by many of our newspapers, periodicals, societies, and public men, including members of both houses of Congress, that our Government, in the settlement of this hard problem, should invite the co-operation of other American republics.

In many Latin-American countries, too, during the past few months there has been a remarkable increase of Pan-American sentiment. Their latent suspicion of the big North American Republic, which was greatly intensified by the seizure of Vera Cruz, was turned by the Niagara Conference of mediation between the Huerta government and the United States into an active support of Pan-Americanism. "Blessed be Pan-Americanism," exclaimed "La Prensa," of Buenos Aires, the foremost daily of all South America. Some of the other leading journals of the A B C countries, in which this feeling is strongest, have echoed this sentiment, declaring that Pan-Americanism has now come to be an accomplished fact. These newspaper accounts have been substantiated by personal letters. One from Chile, from an American acquaintance, says: "Chilean opinion regarding the United States has made a complete revolution since the acceptance of the A B C mediation, and now we are held in very high esteem." A leading statesman of South America said to the writer: "The Niagara Conference has largely created a real Pan-Americanism. It has made it actual; before this it was merely an idea." The present war has still further increased this co-operation. Government after Government has cabled its Ambassador or Minister to bring various matters of common interest before the Pan-American Council. Recently Ambassador Suarez, of Chile, declared that "on the great occasions when this continent is concerned" the common interests of the A B C countries are automatically united with those of the United States. Less than four months ago the President of Argentina, in his formal address to Congress, paid a public tribute to Pan-American co-operation.

If the countries of Latin America are treated frankly, courteously, and as equals—and no international aggressions are made by the United States—it may be stated with considerable positiveness that they will gladly unite with our country for the common settlement of problems which they believe affect America as a whole. With their sensitive regard for the sovereignty of even the weakest states, it is not yet clear that they will jointly interfere to settle the internal quarrels of such a land as Mexico; but should a European Power take advantage of the present situation to wrest a naval base from Mexico which would be within striking distance of Panama, the United States, in resisting the aggression, would certainly have the united support of Pan-America.

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REMINISCENCES[1]

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

CHAPTER XX

LOOKING FORWARD

I AM writing this chapter in my wife's room, at her desk, looking out of an eastern window at the mountain as the sun is rising over it. The house is substantially what it was when built over forty years ago, though some changes have added to its appearance without and to its comfort within. Under its roof two of my children and three of my grandchildren were born. Twice it has been made radiant with joy by a wedding; never yet has it been darkened with sorrow by a funeral. All my children and all my grandchildren are living; all of them within the sound of my voice—the telephone voice; all but one so near me that with them I hold not infrequent conversations. Three of my four sons have made their homes by my side. Five of my children have by their marriage brought into the family those who are as dear to me as those born in my home.

On my bureau are pictures of my two daughters, and over the desk where I am writing is a group picture of my four sons, all living useful lives; and whenever I am blue—as who is not at times?—I look at these pictures, think of what my children are doing in the world, and say to myself, You have been of some use, for if it had not been for you they would not have been. In my library I write at a black oak table which was given to me by the young men of Plymouth Church when I retired from its pastorate. A bronze statue of David, sling in hand, which they gave me on my sixtieth birthday, helps to keep alive in me the courage of youth. A little bronze of mother and child, the gift of one of my own children, reminds me daily that "love is the greatest thing in the world." The four or five thousand books which make of every room in the house a library are nearly all acquaintances, some of them friends. For this collection was not made; it grew. There are very few of these books with which I have not some personal acquaintance; still fewer are those I have read through. For, except an occasional novel or biography, I rarely read a book through. I go to my books to get what I want as I want it—information, instruction, inspiration. I would no more expect to get all a book has to give me in one reading than all that a friend has to give me in one conversation.

The changes in the village in the forty-five years during which it has been my home are examples of the changes in our National life. The village has built and owns its waterworks; they are a profitable investment and are gradually paying off the bonds issued to construct them. We have good roads and sidewalks; our schools, both public and private, are greatly improved, and more boys and girls are going from the high schools to college. We have no open saloons. We began a campaign against them forty years ago, with a corporal's guard to lead the attack. We were beaten, of course; renewed the attack; after twenty years won our first victory, shut the saloons out, and they have never come back. Every two years we have another temperance campaign, but always, thus far, with the same result. There is still some illegal selling; but it is perilous. Grand juries are beginning to indict, district attorneys to prosecute, juries to convict, and judges to sentence offenders.

Every one says that church attendance in America is decreasing and that the churches are losing their influence. What every one says must be true. But there are some facts in our community which it is difficult to reconcile with what every one says. We have in Cornwall six churches and a Friends' meeting-house. Four of them have been enlarged since I came here; an additional chapel for union services has been built; and, I believe, all the churches have added to their facilities for Sunday-school work. I am told that all the churches are well filled on Sunday mornings; the one I attend has some vacant seats, but very few empty pews. They have all done good work in our temperance campaigns; not the least efficient helper in this work has been the Roman Catholic Church. How much they have done indirectly to promote other influences and organizations for the public welfare it is impossible to tell. A free lecture course in one of our public school

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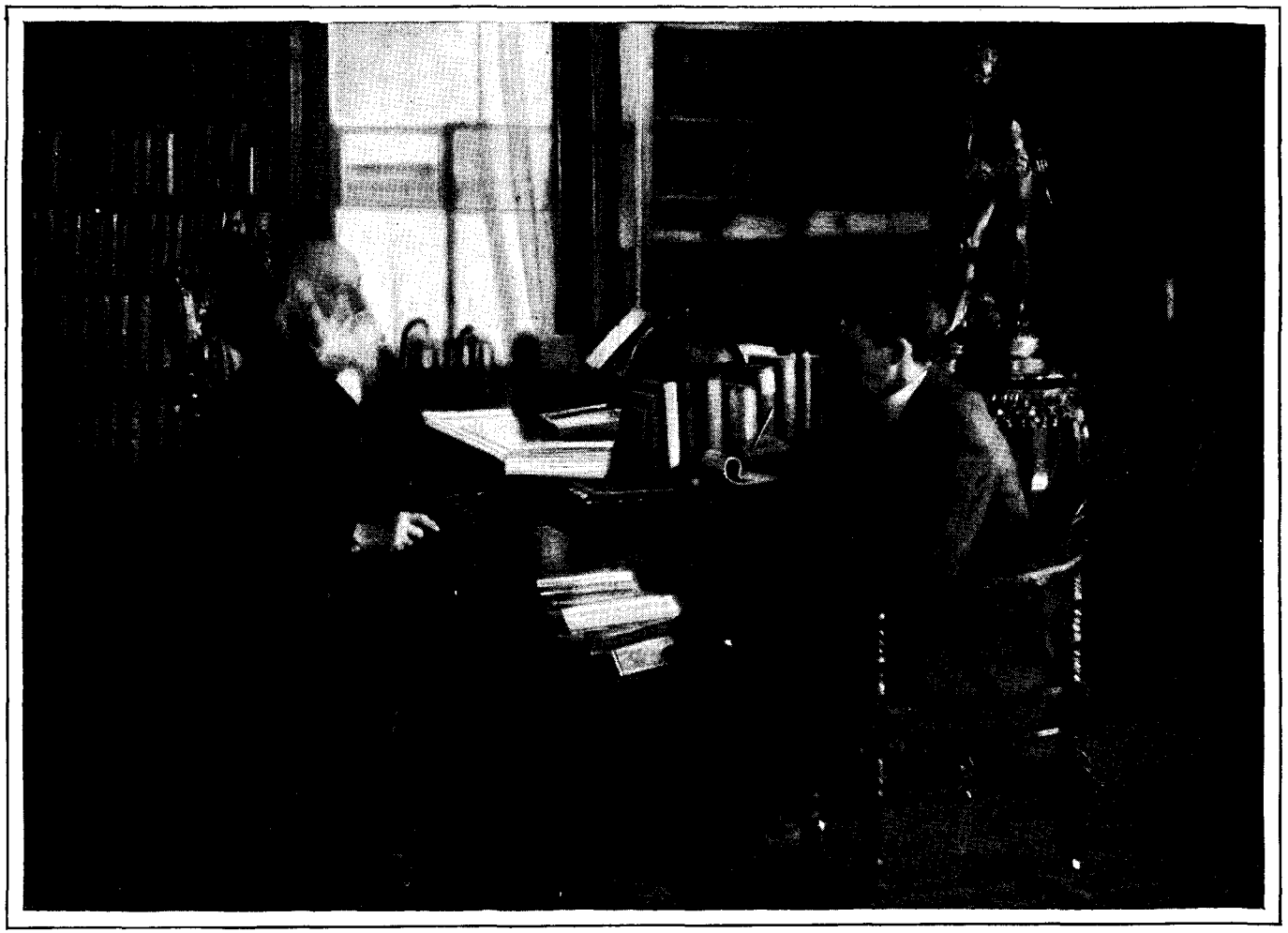

PHOTOGRAPH BY H. H. MOORE

LYMAN ABBOTT DICTATING HIS REMINISCENCES IN HIS LIBRARY AT THE KNOLL, CORNWALL-ON-HUDSON

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buildings is so well attended that one must go early to get a seat; a free library has not only books and periodicals, but, what is more difficult to secure, readers; a Young Men's Christian Association holds weekly meetings; a Boys' Club has put up a modest gymnasium and made it available by moderate rentals for all village organizations; a Village Improvement Society has converted an old house built in Revolutionary times into a village Homestead; two Camp-Fire groups and a Girls' Club do for the girls what the Young Men's Christian Association and the Boys' Club do for the boys. Both boys and girls were without either leadership or organization forty years ago. All these changes have taken place within the last forty years, and as my travels take me about the country they all seem to be paralleled by similar moral and intellectual gains in other towns and villages. These are the springs of our National life, and are more important than many of the events described in startling type by our daily papers.

What of myself? I am writing these pages on the twenty-fifth day of June, 1915; on the eighteenth of next December I shall be eighty years of age. I cannot believe it. I seem to myself to be in better health than I was at eighteen. My interest in present problems and my hopes for the future of my country are as great as they ever were. I take an active part in the editorial direction of The Outlook. I have given up lyceum lecturing; but I gladly share with others, by both voice and pen, in the public discussions of the questions of the day; and, save for a long summer vacation, reserved for quiet literary work, I preach at least two Sundays in the month. I should preach every Sunday were it not for the protests of my children; many years ago I reached the point at which I think it wise for the father to give to the counsels of his children something of the authority of commands.

In one respect my life has succeeded beyond the dreams of my youth. I have never cared for money; perhaps if I had cared more my wife would have had an easier time, but I doubt whether we should have been happier. Nor for reputation; therefore the attacks made upon me and the misreports and misrepresentations to which I have been subjected have never much troubled me. They have had a value. One can learn his faults better from his critics than from his friends, because his critics are more frank. Nor for power; I like to influence, but not to command. But I have desired friends; and it sometimes seems to me that no man ever had more friends than I have. I am often stopped on the street by a stranger who thanks me for some word of counsel or inspiration received; and scarcely a week goes by that I do not receive a letter of grateful appreciation from some unknown friend whom I never shall see, and who, perhaps, has never seen me.

I have other invisible friends who people my quiet home with their companionship. I believe that death and resurrection are synonymous, that death is the dropping of the body from the spirit, that resurrection is the upspringing of the spirit from the body; and I think of my friends and companions, not as lying in the grave waiting for a future resurrection, nor as living in some distant land singing hymns in loveless forgetfulness of those they loved on earth—I think of them as a great cloud of witnesses looking on to see how we run the race that is set before us, grieved in our failures, glad in our triumphs. I think of my mother rejoicing in the joys of the boy whom she was not permitted to care for on earth; of my father still counseling me by his unspoken wisdom in my times of perplexity; of my wife giving me rest and reinvigoration by her love. So I am never lonely when I am alone; rarely restless when I am sleepless.

I believe that I have learned one secret of happiness; it is a habit easier to describe than to adopt.

We live in the past and in the future. The present is only a threshold over which we cross in going from the past into the future. We live, therefore, in our memory and in our anticipation. He who forms the habit of forgetting the unpleasant and remembering the pleasant lives in a happy past; he who forms the habit of anticipating the pleasant and striking out from his anticipation the unpleasant lives in a happy future. I have no wish to live in a fool's paradise; but it is no better to live in a fool's purgatory. I therefore allow myself to anticipate evil only that I may avoid it if it is avoidable, or, if it is unavoidable, may meet it with wisdom and courage. I recall past errors, follies, and faults in order that I may learn their lesson and avoid their repetition. Then I forget them. The prophet tells me that my Father buries my sins in the depths of the sea. I have no inclination to fish them up again

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and take an inventory. I gladly dismiss from my memory what He no more remembers against me forever. Thus my religion is to me, not a servitude, but an emancipation; not a self-torment because of past sins, but a divinely given joy because of present forgiveness.

It is almost impossible to write freely of the experiences of one's heart to a throng of unknown readers. It is easier to portray them to an intimate friend. For this reason I transfer to these pages a few sentences which I wrote to my wife from Terre Haute during her absence in the East in the summer of 1863:

"Ought we to go alway through life condemned of ourselves and thinking and feeling that God must condemn us? Is this a necessity? Is it not possible so to live that our own conscience approves us? And we have the happiness of feeling that we have the approval of God and of our own hearts? It *is* possible. Is it not practicable? Was it not Paul's experience? . . . It is true that we ought never to be satisfied with ourselves—that our ideal of holiness ought always to outrun our attainments; that we ought always to desire something more and better. But we may be self-approved and not self-satisfied. We may be dissatisfied and yet not self-condemned."

It is thus at eighty years of age that I look back upon the years that have passed since I imbibed something of the spirit of faith and hope and love in my grandfather's home at Farmington. I am far from satisfied with this review; but I am not self-condemned. I say to my Father, as I say to myself: I have often been defeated, but I have fought a good fight; I have often faltered and fallen, but I have kept up the race; I have been besieged all my life with doubts, and they still sometimes hammer at the gates, but I have kept my faith.

And I look forward to the Great Adventure, which now cannot be far off, with awe, but not with apprehension. I enjoy my work, my home, my friends, my life. I shall be sorry to part with them. But all my life I have stood in the bow looking forward with hopeful anticipation to the life before me. When the time comes for my embarkation, and the ropes are cast off and I put out to sea, I think I shall still be standing in the bow and still looking forward with eager curiosity and glad hopefulness to the new world to which the unknown voyage will bring me.

This chapter is the last of the series which was begun in The Outlook for January 24, 1914. In response to inquiries it may be appropriately announced that the Reminiscences here concluded will soon be published in book form by the Houghton Mifflin Company

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WHAT NEW YORK CITY IS DOING UNDER A COMMISSION FORM OF GOVERNMENT

BY QUINCY SHARPE MILLS

TO visitors New York is a city of perennial wonders in its amusements, in its tireless growth of sky-scrapers, and, to a comparatively small percentage, in the even more ambitious structure of its business enterprises. These are the things with which the outsider sojourning in New York City ordinarily contents himself; but what is there for him as a citizen of his own municipality, whether he hails from another great city like Chicago or San Francisco or from a country village, to learn from the experience of New York's six million inhabitants in governing themselves?

That the big city has some sort of government he takes as a matter of course. He is dimly conscious of reading in the newspapers that it has a Mayor who speaks at public dinners, commands a police force which is engaged in an apparently endless warfare for the suppression of gunmen, and sometimes gets himself mentioned as a possibility for nomination as Governor or President, only to be forgotten invariably at the last minute when the nominating is actually done.

But the average visitor would be only more surprised, not to say shocked, than the average citizen of New York itself to learn that the Nation's biggest city is directing its affairs under a commission form of government, and has been doing so ever since the creation of Greater New York in 1898. The general tendency is to view commission government as still in the stage of doubtful experiment. Yet, in a modified form, it has demonstrated itself in the past seventeen years to be highly practicable in the second largest city in the world.

From New York's successes as well as from its mistakes under modified commission rule the other cities of the country and the towns as well may learn much. Notably, from the experience of New York City in recent years they may learn how a civic problem, whether it be the digging of a sewer ditch or the building of a $300,000,000 rapid transit system, may be solved without graft and with a minimum amount of waste.

In a city where the "Tweed Court-House" still stands in City Hall Park as an ugly monument to graft, that is accomplishing wonders. That Court-House would have been costly at $5,000,000. The city paid $20,000,000 for it forty years ago! The question that naturally arises is, "How has the advance which renders such a scandal impossible been effected?"

The men at present at the head of New York City's government believe that it has been due primarily to the awakening of the civic conscience by such disclosures as those which sent Tweed to jail for his Court-House grafting. To justify the trust which this awakening has placed in them they are now laboring to prevent any increase through waste in the cost of a new New York County Court-House, estimated at $17,500,000. Next, they believe that it is to be attributed to the working out of a scheme of municipal government more nearly perfect than any previously devised and in which co-operation among the city's elective administrative heads is the keystone idea.

Perhaps it was prejudice against the name commission as suggesting an innovation that impelled New York City's Charter framers to call its principal governing body of eight members the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, but a modified commission it is in effect. While the Mayor presides over its sessions and has the power of absolute veto over certain of its actions, the powers of the seven other members are so nicely balanced against his that he cannot afford to try to rule with an iron hand.

The Board of Estimate as a whole holds absolute control over the city's purse-strings, so that if a Mayor should be overbearing his associates could thwart his administration by withholding the funds necessary for the carrying out of his plans in the twenty-nine city departments which are directed by commissioners whom he appoints. The President of the Board of Aldermen and the Comptroller, the other two principal elective officers, cast the same number of votes each as the Mayor in the Board of Estimate, and are to be reckoned with particularly by him. Five Borough Presidents, each practically a mayor himself in a city which would rank alone as a municipality of the first class, cast the seven other votes among them.

Such an organization results in a system

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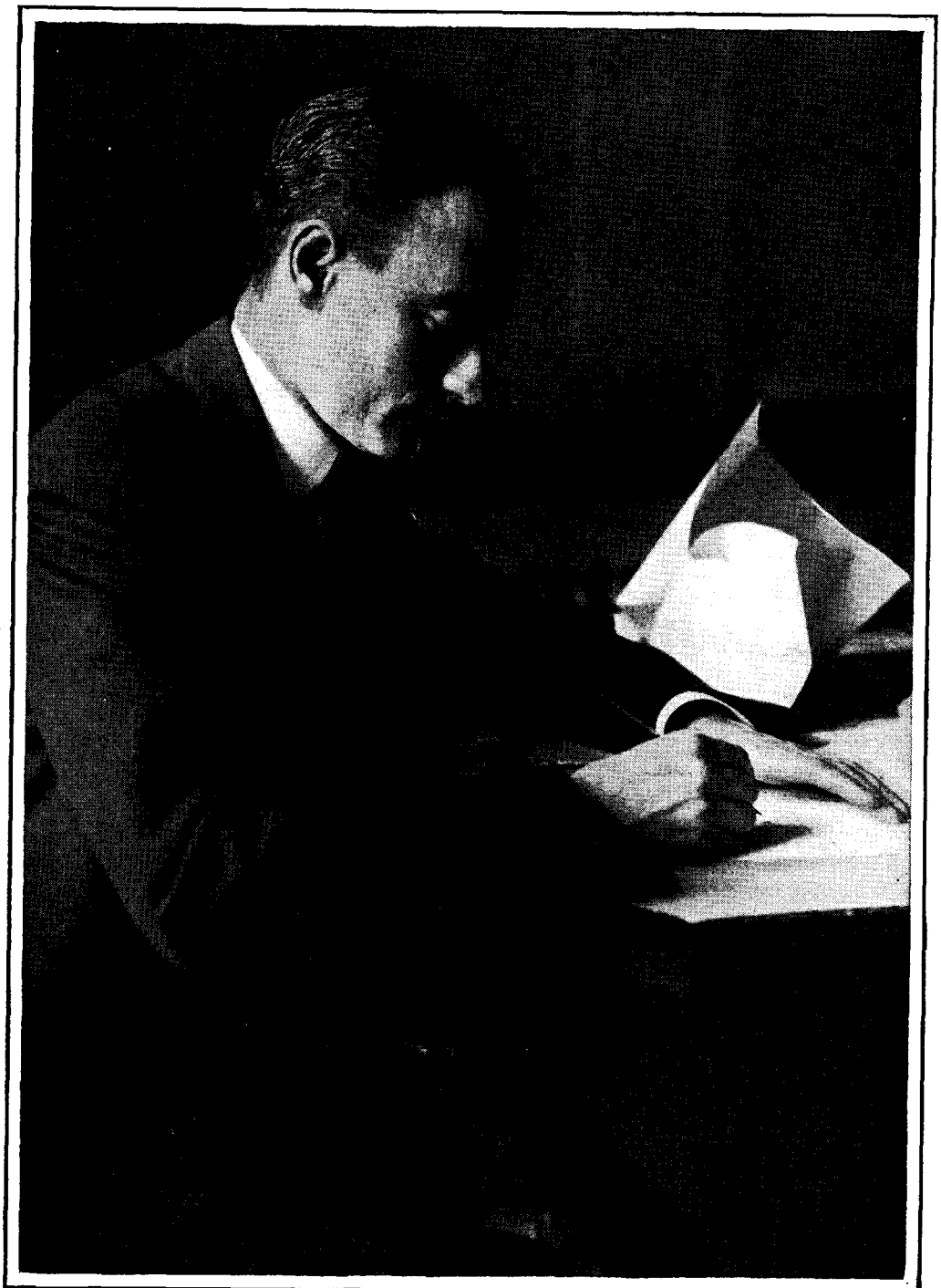

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MAYOR MITCHEL

While the Mayor presides over the sessions" of this modified commission, "the powers of the other members are so nicely balanced against his that he cannot afford to try to rule with an iron hand"

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of check and counter-check which would enable any one of the eight members of the Board of Estimate to block waste or graft by simply resorting to publicity. There has been no need for public graft-checking and little for public action to prevent waste in the five years that the men now in control of New York City's affairs have been in office. They were elected on the platform that the city's business should be transacted in businesslike fashion, and they have devoted themselves to working out a more orderly system of administration, which they hope to go far toward perfecting in the three years of their term still remaining.

Mayor John Purroy Mitchel, President George McAneny of the Board of Aldermen, and Comptroller William A. Prendergast form the "triumvirate" which does most to shape the policy of the city administration by casting nine out of the sixteen votes in the Board of Estimate—three votes each. These three men are bending every energy toward establishing a business method in the direction of New York City's affairs which will so commend itself to the voters that they will refuse to go back at the municipal election of 1917 or any subsequent election to the old spoils system of government.

That is the only way, they believe, by which political machine control of New York City, whether the machine be run by Tammany or by some other organization, can be eliminated permanently. Mr. Mitchel, Mr. McAneny, and Mr. Prendergast have consented to state for The Outlook their views of the task that they have undertaken. Each has his own particular problems to deal with, but all are agreed absolutely on the proposition that any administration of New York City's government to be successful from the taxpayer's standpoint must be non-partisan. Mayor Mitchel said in his statement for The Outlook:

"The government of a city such as New York is, because of its extent and the variety of its activities, complicated and difficult, but its purposes are simple. These are merely to carry on every branch of city work with the single object of rendering effective service to the public. Once this spirit is put into a city government, scandals, corruption, and even incompetence disappear and public satisfaction and municipal progress take their place.

"Of course you cannot conduct the business of a city merely by desiring to make all activity spell service. You must put imagination into it. You must find the desires of the public and help formulate them. A government cannot be called good because it is efficient; it cannot succeed because it is well intentioned. Here you have the secret of democracy—it must not only be these things, but it must in a variety of ways be the expression of popular desire and answer to popular demands. It must be what the public regards as a part of itself, a natural expression of its own civic spirit.

"My personal ideal for New York City's government is only the ideal that is coming to be the common ideal of all American cities, and that is to close the door forever to the old tyranny of venal, though personally pleasant, politicians, and to keep the control of public life and civic development in the hands of the true citizenship of New York.

"I believe that we can easily make the government of our American cities the conspicuous achievement of our American civilization. It will take time, but straightforward endeavor will make the result appear very much more quickly than may now seem possible. I think a good deal of a New York that shall be very much more influential in the world than any city of the past, very much more marvelous than the capitals of the modern world—a genuine triumph of self-government. This and all that it means to a civilized people is the goal of the present effort of those who are the advocates of a progressively constructive government in New York City.

"I think that you can say that there are four major problems which demand our attention particularly here at this time: the development of our port, including the building of water-front terminals, rail and marine; the development of our market system, including the establishment of wholesale terminal markets; the extension of the educational programme of the city to further develop industrial and vocational training; and the continuing of the administrative improvement of the city government."

President McAneny, as Vice-Mayor and acting head of the city government in the absence of the Mayor, occupies a position second only to that of the Mayor in New York's administrative system. He has been a student of municipal government all of his life, and as such he was nominated first for Borough President of Manhattan in 1909, and then for Aldermanic President two years ago. Opposed as a theorist when he first ran for office, there was no one who dared

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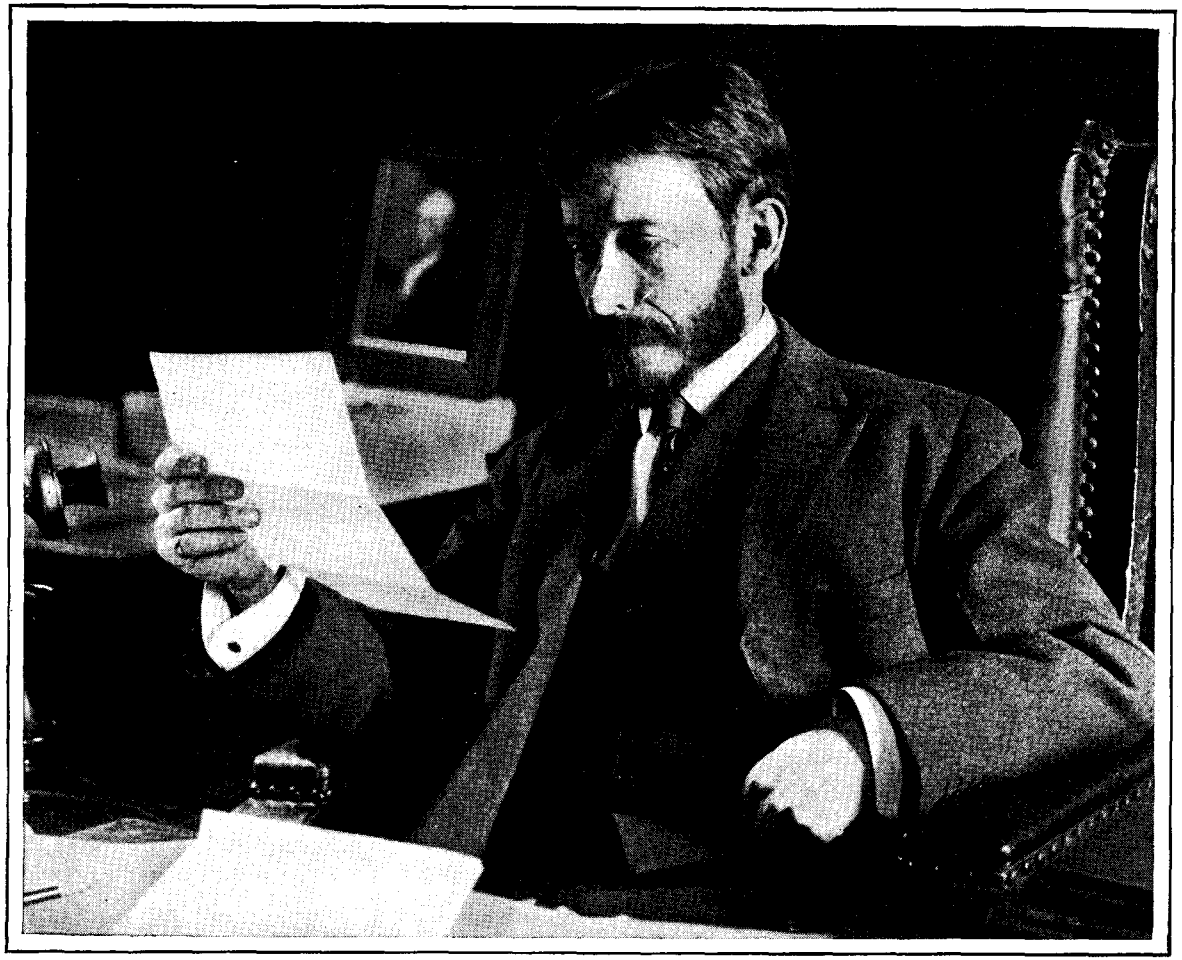

PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

GEORGE McANENY, PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF ALDERMEN

"The planning of city government as a business undertaking has been shown by our experience," says Mr. McAneny, "to be an accomplishable fact"

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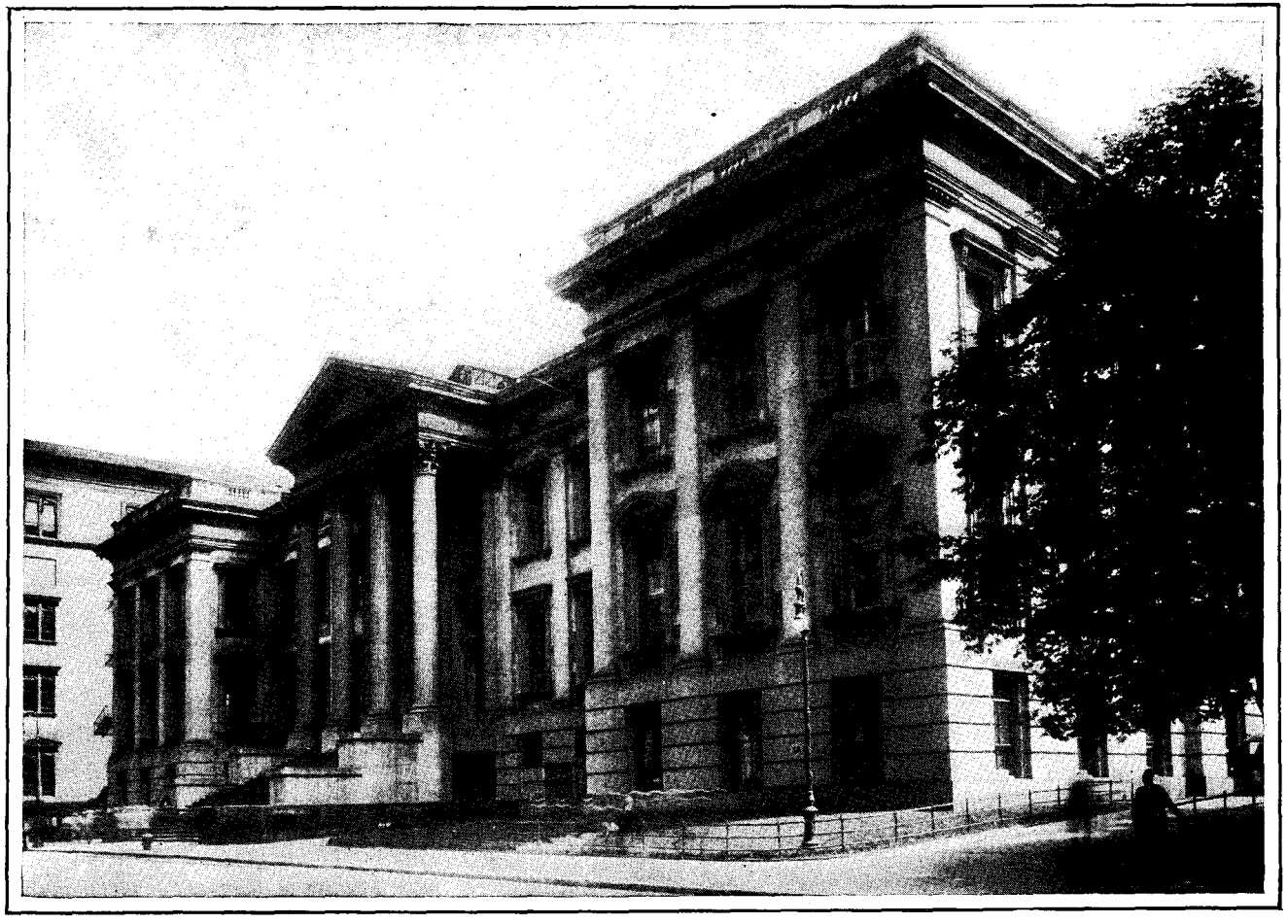

THE "TWEED COURT-HOUSE"

"The Tweed Court-House still stands in City Hall Park as an ugly monument to graft

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to raise that cry against him four years later, so completely had he made good.

"Every other city in the United States can profit by what we have learned and are doing in New York City," said Mr. McAneny when interviewed for The Outlook. "The planning of city government as a business undertaking, and not as a basis for a political machine, has been shown by our experience here to be an accomplishable fact and not an unattainable ideal.

"We have set ourselves to plan, not only for to-day and to-morrow, but for thirty and fifty years from to-day. Every city should have its own plan, and by the phrase 'city plan' I mean, not only the orderly charting of its physical growth, but also a comprehensive scheme for co-ordinating its multiple activities and eliminating duplication of work and consequent waste in the present.

"Other cities, most of them being younger than New York, should be able to profit by our mistakes as well as by our present planning. A large part of our problem here to-day lies in dealing with defects inherited from the past. As an illustration, take Manhattan's street system. Those who laid it out many years ago did not foresee that in 1914 the city would have a population of more than 5,500,000 centered in this island, and that by 1934 that population would be more than 10,000,000.

"Consequently the north and south avenues, being too few, are choked with traffic. To help remedy this situation, which has grown to be intolerable, we are now extending Seventh Avenue southward at a cost of nearly $9,000,000. But we have profited by the mistakes of our predecessors in their street plan, for we have within the last two years laid out our great new $300,000,000 rapid transit system on what, literally, has been termed a 'radial system,' so that it may not only fill present transportation needs but furnish access in years to come to new suburban districts as the city continues to spread out.

"The working basis for city planning must, of course, lie in home rule. A city administration may plan as wisely as possible, but if it is hampered in carrying out its plans by outside authority from the State, as in the case of New York City, its good work will be greatly hampered, often frustrated. I think that the National political parties could well adopt as one of their tenets non-partisan home rule for cities—and they will get to that some day.

"Non-partisanship in city government is essential to intelligent and honest city planning and to fairness in home rule. We have been free from political entanglements in the past five years and have had time for real constructive civic work. The city has been back of us too, and it encourages me to believe that it is going to stay behind the sort of government that we have striven to inaugurate at City Hall."

Upon the Comptroller of the city of New York devolves the responsibility for transacting the city's financial business. Comptroller Prendergast's statement dealt naturally, therefore, with the improvements that he is effecting in his department of the city government. Mr. Prendergast was elected first in 1909, and made his campaign for re-election last year on his business record.

"City government is a business enterprise," he said. "Politics has nothing to do with it. The government of the city of New York is one of the greatest business enterprises in the world. It has not always been administered as such, because outlay has been allowed far to exceed income. But now we have changed all that. We established a strict budget system five years ago, which makes us plan before we spend, and now the first real steps are being taken to make the receipts of each year pay the city's expenses of each year.

"Just what New York City's business problem is may be put clearly to all by stating that, with imperative needs for hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of new subways, sewers, and other public improvements of all sorts, the city now owes a net bonded debt of $1,045,730,462.55, and that the city is already within $51,000,000 of the total debt it may legally incur for all new projects other than water supply. That total is fixed by law at ten per cent of the taxable real estate within the city limits.

"The city has been for years one of the heaviest borrowers in the world, but the sudden necessity of raising a $100,000,000 loan in the present European war crisis was required to bring home to its citizens the folly of making the future pay for present benefits. This loan bears heavy interest. It was therefore good business to pay it as quickly as possible. This meant the definite establishment of a policy to pay as we go, as nearly as may be. The effect of such a plan must be to restrict non-self-sustaining public improvements, for the simple reason that the

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THE NEW MUNICIPAL BUILDING

In this imposing edifice the vast work of administering New York's "commission form of government" is mainly transacted

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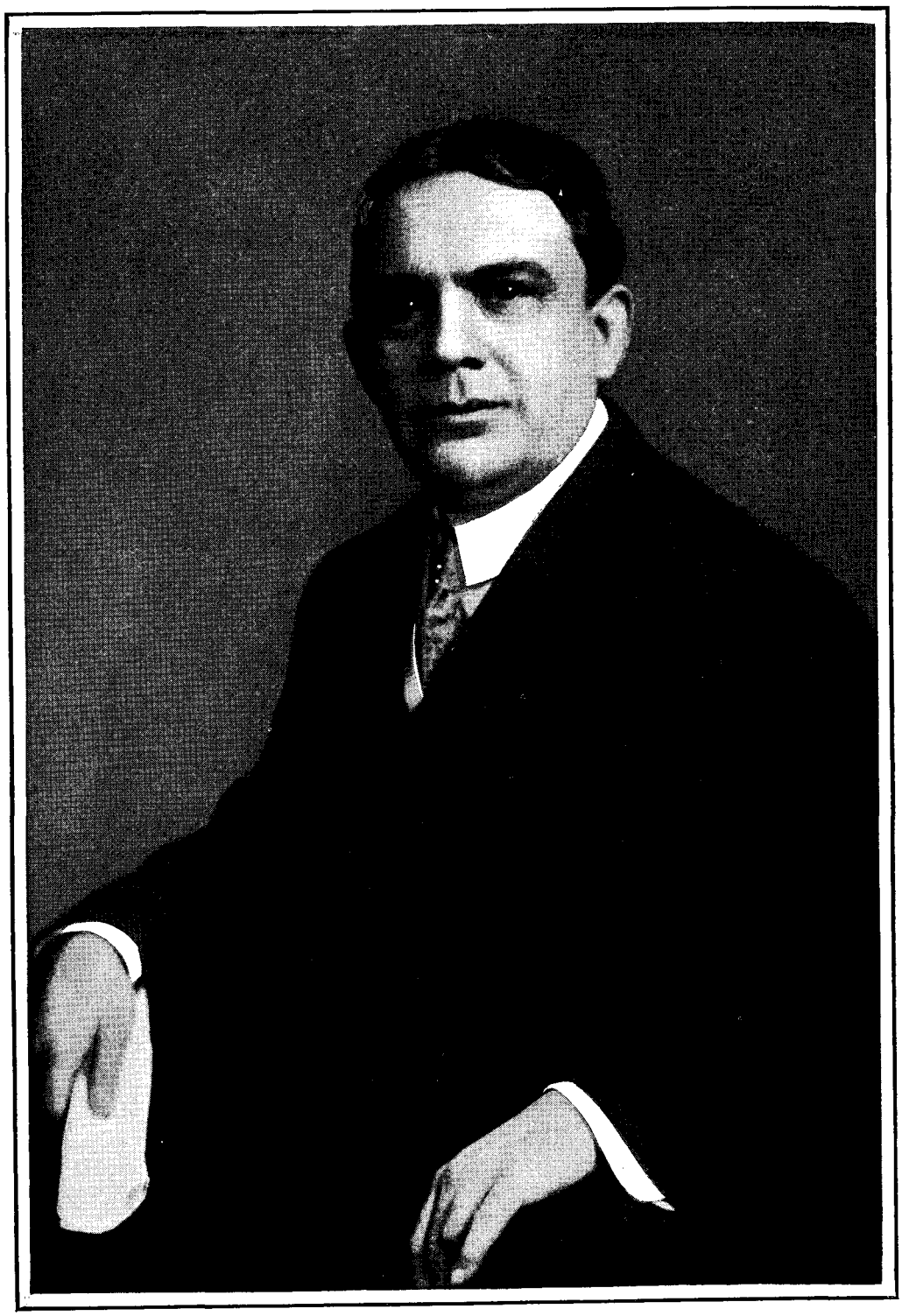

PHOTOGRAPH BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

COMPTROLLER WILLIAM A. PRENDERGAST

"We established a strict budget system four years ago," Mr. Prendergast announces, "which makes us plan before we spend. . . . This meant the definite establishment of a policy to pay as we go, as nearly as may be, and not lay the cost up against posterity"

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present generation of taxpayers will pay out of their own pockets, and not lay the cost up against posterity.

"This necessity has created some uneasiness among taxpayers, and yet it is placing the city's business on the most economical basis. Already the sum of $37,745,836—nearly one-fifth of the annual budget—has to be paid by the taxpayers each year to meet the interest charges alone on the city's vast outstanding bonded debt. This is a per capita cost of $6.76 a year upon the city's whole population. This annual interest cost has risen in a decade from $15,188,951, a per capita cost of $3.89. This continuously increasing cost—148 per cent in ten years—for the use of borrowed money alone must and will be stopped.

"The ideal of any municipality, in contrast with the wasteful system that has been allowed to grow up here, is to pay as it goes, and that is what we are working toward in New York."

While all three of these men have worked together, each has made his own particular contribution to the success of the administration. They are not of one mind politically, nor have they always agreed on points of city policy, but they have subordinated their personal and political differences so thoroughly in laboring for the welfare of the city that the public is seldom aware that the personal differences occur, and the average citizen has to be told that Mr. Mitchel and Mr. McAneny are Independent Democrats and Mr. Prendergast is a Republican. Although they have not resigned their party affiliations, they have refused to sacrifice municipal efficiency and economy to provide jobs for office-holders or to do other political favors.

Mr. Mitchel began his good work as Mayor before he was elected by declaring that, as he was being supported by Independent Democrats, Progressives, and Republicans, he believed that applicants for office from those three parties should receive recognition from him, but that the first requirement for any applicant would be ability, and that no one would get a job through political backing alone. And he lived up to his promise. He staggered the political leaders by establishing in his office immediately after election day a card-index system by which all applications for appointments, excepting, of course, those for commissionerships, were filed for investigation in regard to the ability and integrity of the applicants. The result was that in the distribution of patronage, while the parties which supported him got positions for their followers in about the same proportion as the votes they cast, the plums were not given to political hacks, and no criticisms of inefficiency have yet been made to stand against any of the Mayor's important employees.

As late as October last Mr. Mitchel broke all job-giving rules by advertising for a man for the job of Third Deputy Commissioner of Charities. The political leaders had plenty of candidates for the five-thousand-dollar place, but none of them suited the Mayor. So he had advertisements inserted in the newspapers asking for applications for a responsible position as business manager. There was nothing about the advertisement to indicate that a city position was to be filled. As a result he secured the services of a man who had been head of the purchase and supply department of the United States Express Company until that company went out of business recently, and who had previously been chief clerk of the United States Post-Office Department, and the politicians got the shock of their lives. Conditions have assuredly changed at City Hall since the time when the Boss of Tammany Hall, Richard Croker, could stick his fingers into his vest pocket on inauguration day and hand the incoming Mayor, Robert A. Van Wyck, the list of his commissioners all made out and ready for him to appoint.

To prove that he was not talking economy just to get votes while campaigning Mr. Mitchel insisted that his department heads trim to the bone their estimates of running expenses for 1915. The result was the submission for the first time in the history of the city of departmental estimates totaling less than the allowances for the year in which they were made. The cut was nearly two million dollars. That was contrary to all precedents, for commissioners had been in the habit from time immemorial of asking for all manner of extras, on the basis that the Board of Estimate in cutting down the estimates would be bound to miss some of the "fat."

Mr. McAneny and Mr. Prendergast have labored equally hard and with equally satisfactory results to secure efficiency and economy in the divisions of the city government immediately under their charge, and so, in the main, have the Borough Presidents.

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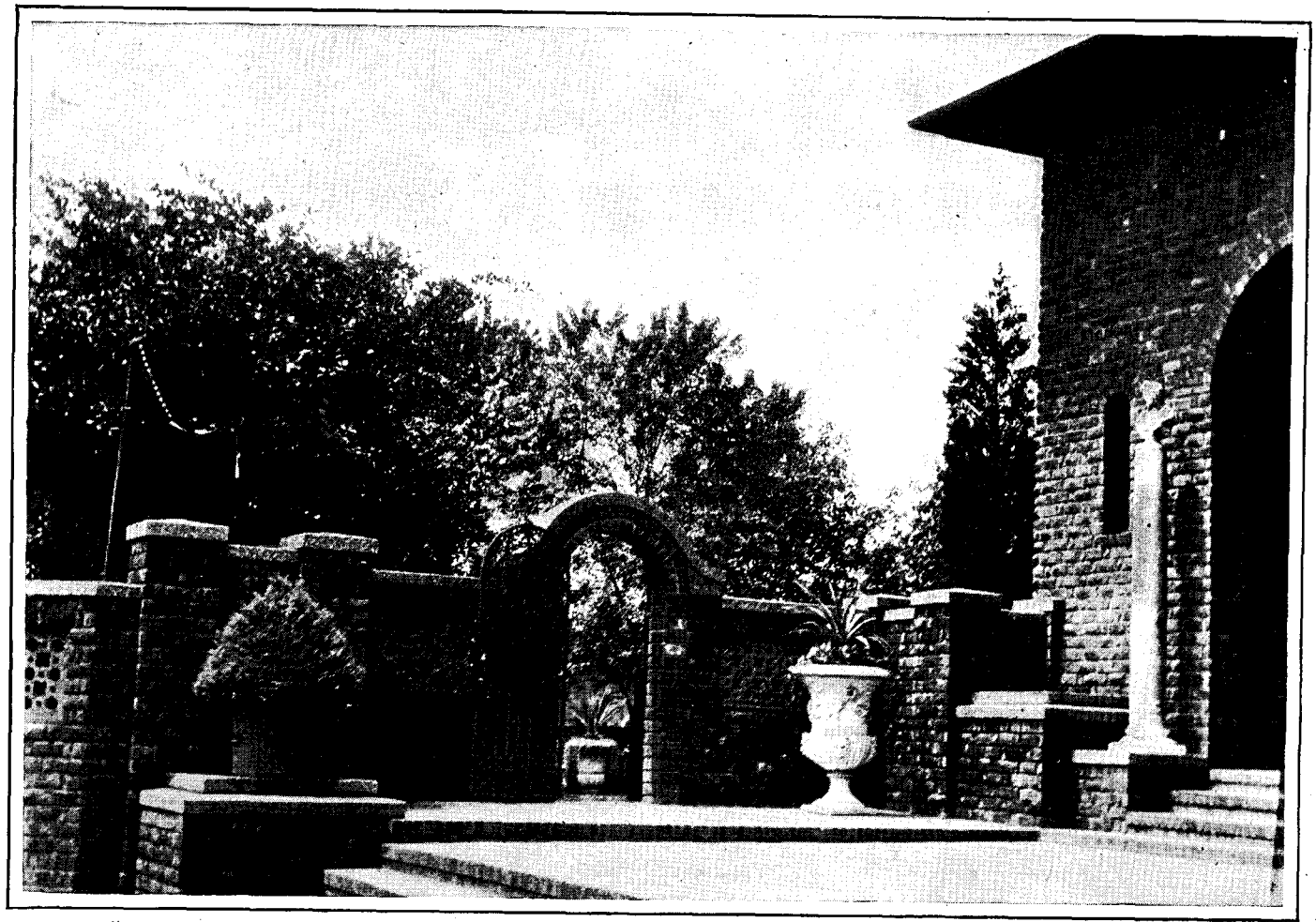

"IN THE ANGLES OF THE COURT STOOD GREAT GARLANDED VASES FLOWING OVER WITH GAY FLOWERS"

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MAKING ART A NEIGHBOR

BY HERBERT FRANCIS SHERWOOD

"THE civilization of Americans is more of a veneer than you think." Thus spake a widely traveled and highly educated East Indian to the writer recently. He had been arguing that the war would break down the civilization of Europe. The men of the striving lands being cut off in their most productive period, childhood would lose the guidance of the torch-bearers of civilization and the flame would go out. The Orient, as a result, would be called upon to carry forward the processes of human development.

The remark quoted above had followed an observation and a question by the writer.

"Many thousands of Americans have been in the habit of visiting Europe annually," I had observed. "Do you not think they have absorbed enough to carry forward the banner if Europe lays it down?"

"You Americans do not go to Europe to learn," he said. "You go to Europe to spend a vacation."

He continued in tones that grew in energy as he proceeded:

"You go to get a rest, not as an observer and student. When I was in Rome, I joined a Cook's party for one day. It tried to see the galleries of Rome in two or three hours. I took my own guide the next day, went where I wanted to go, and spent as much time there as I chose."

The East Indian's point of view was that civilization is something more than the hurrying American's readiness to agree that art in the abstract is a good thing in its way. The test is an innate affection for those things that denote civilization: a love of beauty in its various forms and of sincerity, and a sense of personal injury when they are assaulted. I shall not attempt here to ascertain how far the assertion of the East Indian is well founded.

It was my good fortune recently to be among those invited to attend the celebration of the two hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the old whaling town of Southampton, Long Island, the oldest English settlement within the borders of the present State of New York. On the afternoon of the day of my arrival I walked down the village street. In front of the white, square-turreted old, but well-preserved, Presbyterian church I turned into a street quaintly named Job's Lane. Passing the memorial library building on the terraced corner, I came unexpectedly upon a building that gave me a thrill, for it instantly translated me across seas to the hills of Tuscany and the courts of Venice. It was the sensation that comes to all those who have stood with hats off before the "magical and memorable abodes" of the fair land of Italia.

Elevated on the terrace a few feet back from the street stood the narrow façade of a one-story dull-red, mottled brick building. Before it was a court, brick paved and bounded by shoulder-high walls of Italian design. Long, gracefully curved, and easy steps invited one to enter the triple-arched loggia of the building or to pass through the arched gate on the left to the sunlit spaces of green beyond. In the angles of the court stood great garlanded vases flowing over with gay flowers brought from afar and yellow-tinged evergreens in tubs. Through the gate could be seen other vases filled with blossoming plants and fairy fountains whose needle streams sparkled in the sunlight descending in beams through the leafy canopy. In front of the columns of the loggia stood delicately turned Venetian pillars surmounted by busts and carved urns. Upon the walls of the loggia hung Italian terra-cotta reliefs in blue and gold and ivory. The impulse to enter the Art Museum, for that was what a glimpse through the wide-open door revealed it to be, was irresistible.

The building was long, being perhaps three hundred feet from the entrance to the large pipe-organ at the rear, but comparatively narrow. Through open doors letting out upon the soft, dappled lawn of the arboretum surrounding it the sunlight entered and lay along the floor in bars in a homely fashion. One almost expected to see a sleek tabby dozing away the long, lazy afternoon in the gentle warmth of the June sunshine. Bathed in this glow of light, tempered by the suffused and subdued illumination from the skylights, were finely modeled reproductions in plaster and marble of many of the best-known pieces of ancient and Renaissance sculpture. Upon the walls of one room were large photographs of Italian Renaissance paintings and architectural monuments, such as St. Mark's in Venice. There were original paintings from the hands of Italian Renaissance

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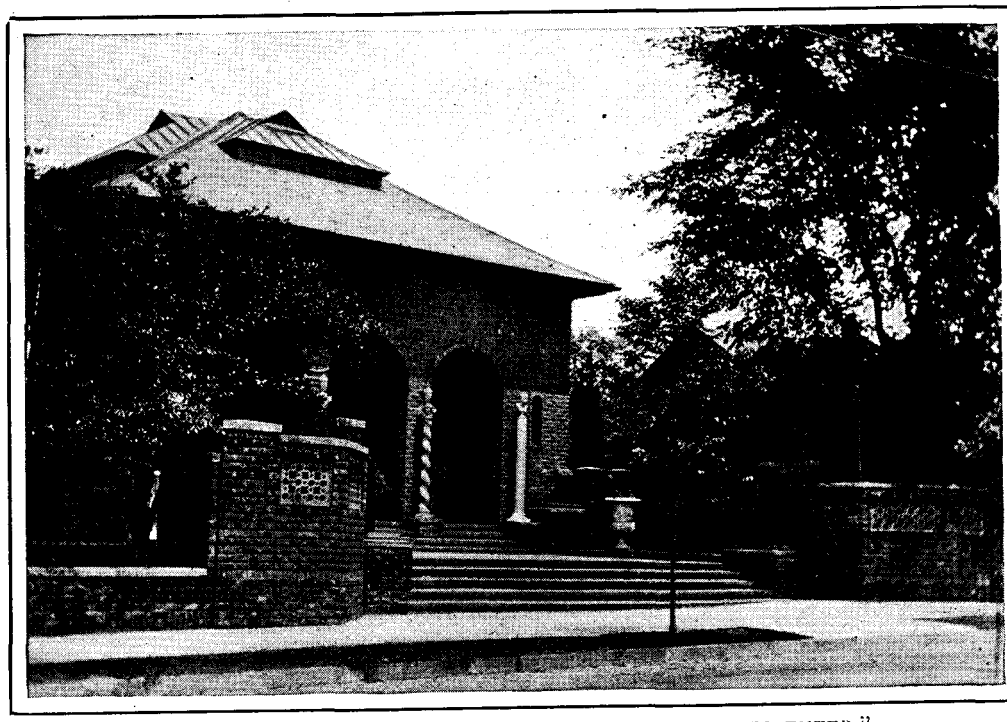

"GRACEFULLY CURVED AND EASY STEPS INVITE ONE TO ENTER"

artists in another room, illustrating the progress of the art which distinguished that era. Some of the paintings dated back as far as the period of Cimabue and the parting from the Byzantine style. Among the pictures were a Madonna by Carlo Dolci and a Holy Family attributed to a pupil of Raphael. Then there were in still another chamber copies of a Rembrandt which had the rich, golden glow of an original, of a Titian, and of a Raphael. It was noticeable that portraits of persons who had figured largely in Greek, Roman, Italian, and English history and art, chiefly in the round, were numerous. They were portraits of the highest authenticity available and of artistic quality. Included among them were a series of half-length reproductions of the recumbent effigies of the Plantagenet and Tudor kings and queens of England upon their tombs in Westminster Abbey and Canterbury Cathedral. Moreover, there was a colored autotype copy in full size of the entire Bayeux tapestry.

The Museum was a neighborly sort of place. It may have been a temple of art; but the order of worship fitted every-day life. Some sanctuaries of art are such high and mighty places that one feels like imitating Moses by removing the sandals from off one's feet upon entering and standing in one spot. Not so here. The Italian spirit of cheerfulness and close connection between art and every-day living had been communicated to the place. The portal was entered as freely as one would enter a post-office or step upon one's summer porch. One might go in between visits to the grocer's and the meat-market. Indeed, it was easier to enter than to remain outside.

Its builder had created the impression that the spirit of art and nature were so closely akin that it would be a sin to cloister the former. The building, itself a bit of artistry, half hidden by shrubbery and vines, seemed to be intended solely as a shelter to protect the beautiful objects from the elements. Doors on all sides opened out to the lawn of the arboretum. They are open on sunny days, just as they would be if in one's own house.

This impression of being very close to the outer world was augmented by the fact that Italian reliefs in stone and terra-cotta, in ivory and gold and blue, were hung upon the exterior walls just as a della Robbia might be in Florence. And, located as the Museum was around the corner from the post-office and the village stores, and within five minutes' walk of the weathered shingled houses of the descendants of the old whaling families, one

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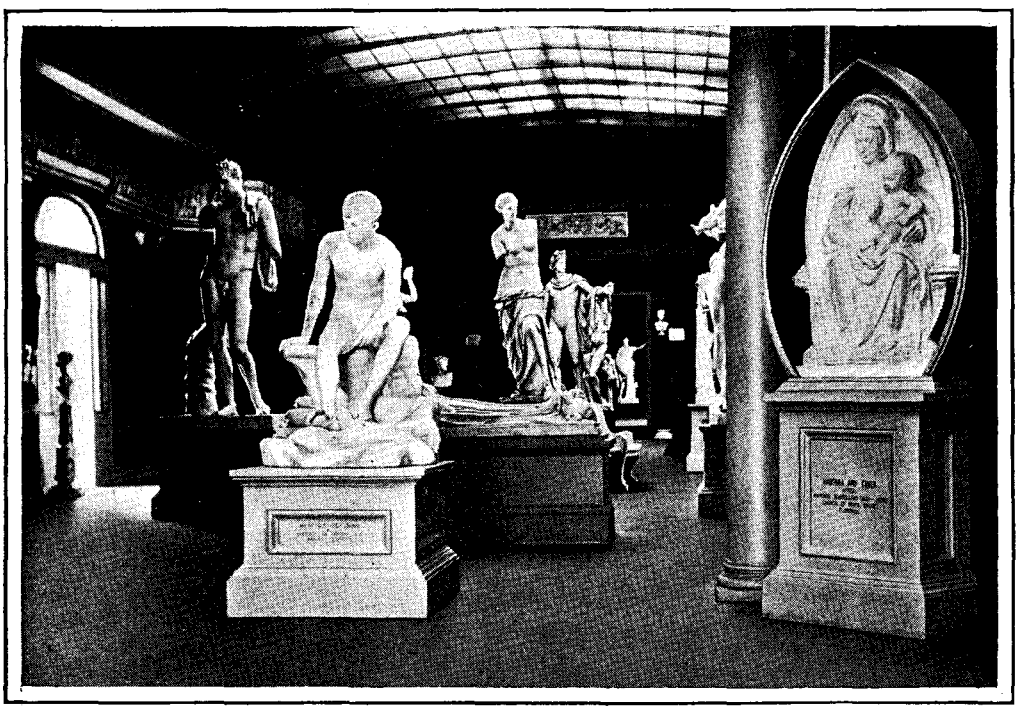

"THE DOORS ARE OPEN ON SUNNY DAYS JUST AS THEY WOULD BE IF IN ONE'S OWN HOUSE"

might easily make a neighbor of the beauty expressed within the three acres of green on Job's Lane.

The building, in fact, is more than an art museum. It is a neighborhood center. A reception was held here on one evening in the course of the celebration. There were vocal and instrumental music by soloists and the choral society of the town, supported by the organ, and several addresses. The audience, numbering more than five hundred persons, sat in a modulated half-light that softly illuminated the objects of art scattered all about, but cast no shadows. The fragrant air of a warm June evening drifted in from the lawns through the open doors. Stretching away to the organ in the distance, facing each other, were two rows of marble busts of the Roman Cæsars, on slender pedestals, eighteen all told—a sort of incomparable "Siéges Allée." Commanding them was the superb full-length figure of the great Cæsar Augustus. Behind them on the walls hung the paintings of the Italian Renaissance period. Close by my chair was a polished marble copy of the well-known bust of the angular-visaged Pietro de Medici. The familiar figure of the lad extracting a thorn from his foot stood only a little way off. The more intimate company included Dante and Michelangelo and Homer, while the "cloud of witnesses" was augmented in the outer circle by the men and women in the Bayeux tapestry and the black effigies of the kings and queens of England. And in the extreme background the spirits of a della Robbia and a Ghiberti brooded over the whole. Without attempting further to describe the scene, there seemed to be some quality added to the reminiscent remarks of the speakers and the music through their association with this mighty company from out the past. Each contributed to the sociability of the gathering a something which would have been lacking if a barn-like town-hall had been the meeting-place. It was making art a neighbor.

The existence of the Museum is due to Samuel L. Parrish, a retired New York lawyer. A lover of art and imbued with a desire to be of service to the future, he conceived the idea of forming this collection and housing it. It is a museum with a purpose. That purpose is the one of making it impossible for a future visitor to America to say with any shadow of truth what my East Indian acquaintance said. This, in general, is the object of all American museums, it is to be assumed. The distinction in the case of the Southampton Museum is that the

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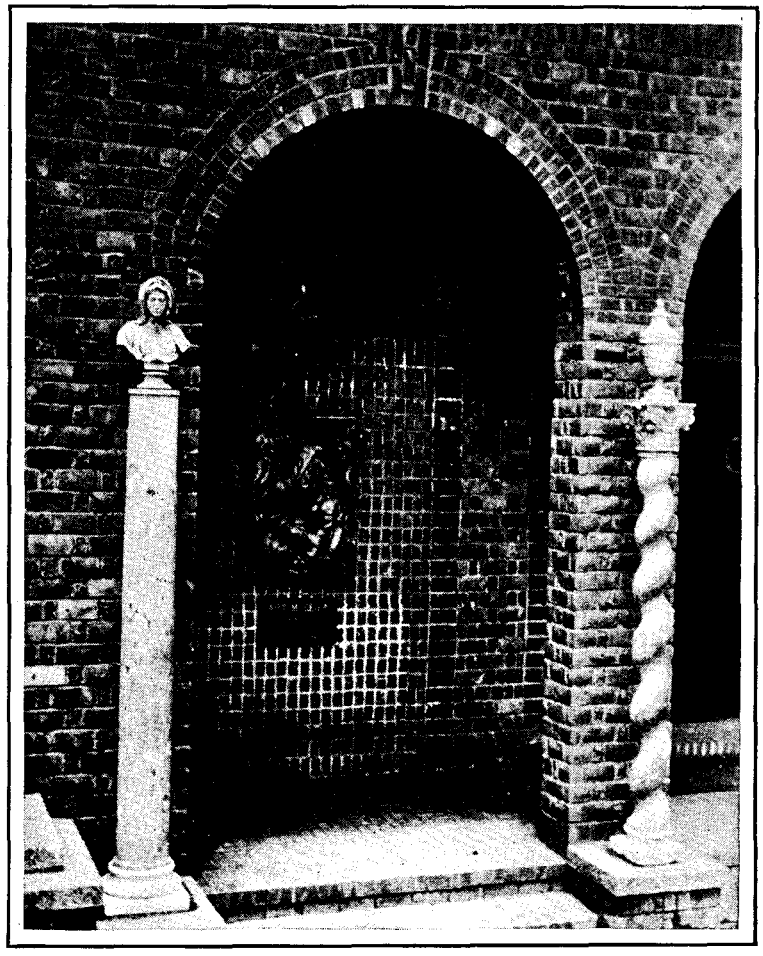

"UPON THE WALLS OF THE LOGGIA HUNG ITALIAN TERRA-COTTA RELIEFS IN BLUE AND GOLD AND IVORY"

collection has been most carefully selected with this in view.

Mr. Parrish sought to establish a museum which should fit into the needs of an American community and become a contributor to its life. In order to do this, he argued, it should be as attractive and as neighborly as the public library has become. It should have a collection which would supplement the work of the public school and the library. This, it goes without saying, should be comprised of objects that meet the standards of good taste and of art. And it must be accessible.

We have seen that the Southampton Museum is attractive, neighborly, and accessible. Not only is Mr. Parrish's museum a model for the small American community in this respect, but it is also in the character of the collection which it houses. In his choice of objects he has selected those which will particularly illustrate the history of art and the history of those countries that have contributed most to American civilization. He has adopted Carlyle's view in laying great stress upon the value of the portrait as an aid to the study of history. Besides a large number of full-sized reproductions of the ideal forms of the past, he has included in his collection many fine copies of authentic portrait busts. "The collection as a whole," Mr. Parrish has said, "is confined almost exclusively to such objects as illustrate or represent the history, biography, and art of Greece, Italy, and England, the three countries, above all others, to which we in America, directly or indirectly, owe all that is most valuable in our intellectual and political life."

Such a museum could be established in any town in the United States which is large

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"THIS IMPRESSION OF BEING VERY CLOSE TO THE OUTER WORLD WAS AUGMENTED BY RELIEFS IN STONE AND TERRA-COTTA ON THE EXTERIOR WALLS"

enough to house and support a public library. Of course it would not be easy to carry out this idea on the plane Mr. Parrish has established, for not every community could afford to have copies of sculpture made in stone. Nor could it enlist the services of a Saint-Gaudens, as Mr. Parrish did when choosing the busts of the Roman emperors to be reproduced in marble, or select and purchase original paintings of the Renaissance for the illustration of that period in the history of art. Nor might it be practicable to publish on the generous scale Mr. Parrish adopted a catalogue giving historical, biographical, and descriptive data regarding every object. And most difficult of all would be the finding of the man or community group equipped with Mr. Parrish's love for and understanding of art and discriminating judgment to form so comprehensive and homogeneous a collection and house it in a home according so well with the spirit of art and the object of the museum. It is possible, however, to buy good plaster reproductions of the best in plastic act. Excellent photographs and copies in color of paintings may also be had. And expert advice can be obtained. Other communities would do well to study the plan of the Southampton Museum and collection. A collection must not be made in a haphazard way, but with a definite end in view. It is not enough that a picture is a good one. Has it a value as illustrating a phase of art? Is that phase one which is essential to a general knowledge of art and illustrative of its history?

If art is to have its share in the development of American civilization, art objects must be brought as close to the home as collections of books have been. We must make a neighbor of art and live with it.

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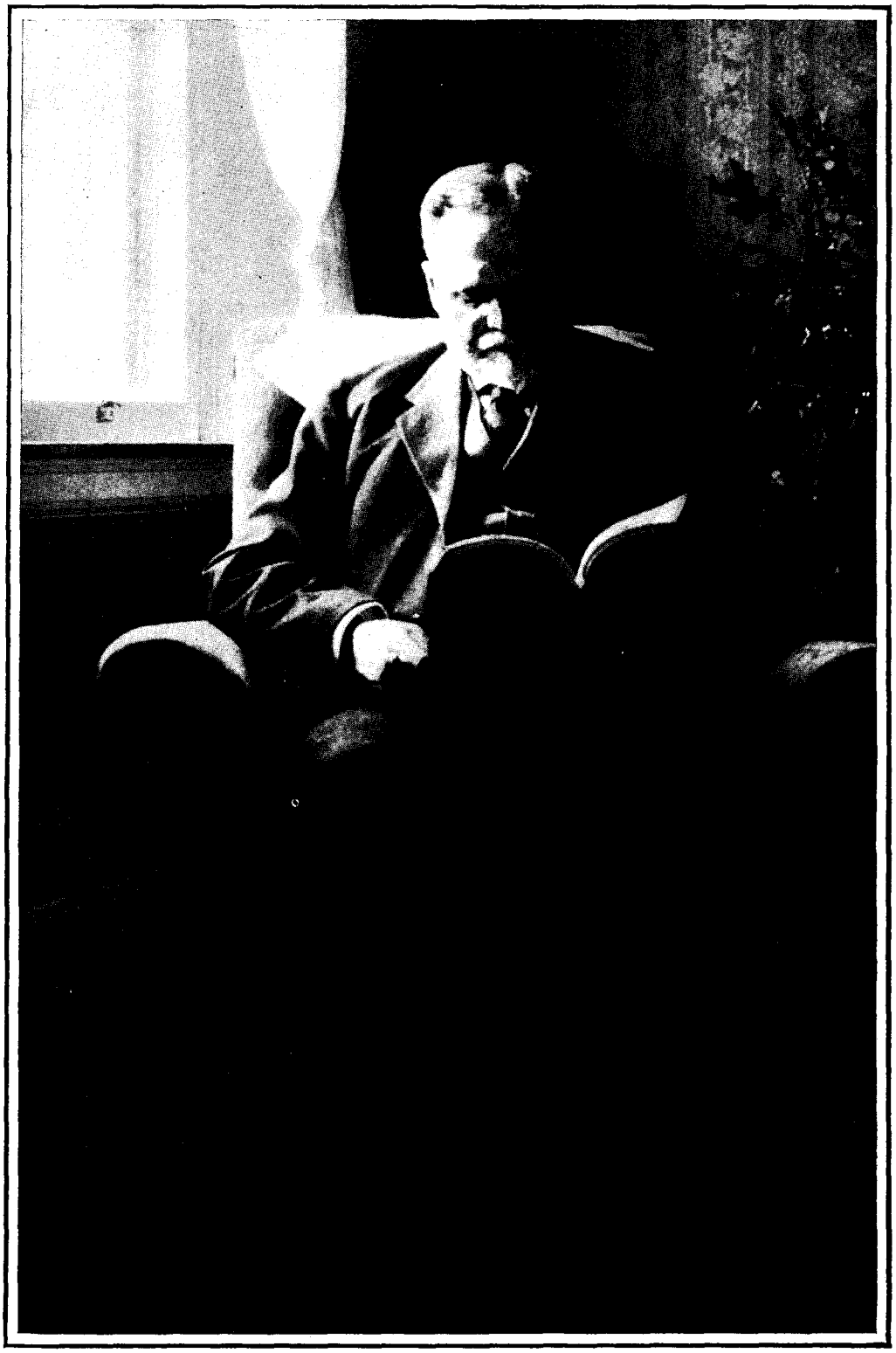

EDWARD E. AYER

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A LUMBERMAN BIBLIOPHILE

BY DONALD WILHELM

IN Chicago there is a member of the Indian Commission, lumberman, soldier, pioneer, and successful business man, self-educated to appreciation of art and to allurement of the antique, who, young at seventy-three, with enthusiasm unmistakable, high up in the Railway Exchange Building a few minutes each day of a few months each year sells railway ties, and all the rest of the time, nearly all over the rest of the world, goes questing good things for two Chicago museums and a Chicago library. He is Edward E. Ayer, a gray-clad, wide-shouldered woodsman, with a ruddy complexion and a sparse gray beard, most often discovered on the back seat of his auto chatting familiarly of Tibetan and Egyptian fabrics, of El Grecos or a Kiu Ying, of Akeley, the Angelo of the animal world, or of the Cheron collection of Corots in Paris, of a marine and two landscapes in a museum in Florence. He speaks regretfully of the pages missing from a certain fine old volume; he speaks in his thirty-second-degree superlative of a little brochure he has just obtained—"It's a nugget, man, it's a nugget!"—and then turns intimately to "poor Frank Millet," "Zorn," to in-and-out bights and slips, hidden ingles and hidden inns up and down Europe, in and out America, in the heart of Spain, in the heart of Egypt or the Yellowstone. His North American collection in the Field Museum of Natural History is a valuable one; his Americana is said by one collector to be the finest that exists; his Mouranna glass collection in the Art Institute is exceptional; and his books in the Ayer Rooms of the Newberry Library have been gathered from all over the world. He has been everywhere; he is always on the way. He is pioneering.

Mr. Ayer has been pioneering ever since he was eighteen years of age, and, with no schooling save what he succeeded in getting from the log school-house in Wisconsin, struck across the plains, stopped in Nevada, then the roughest place in the world, worked in a quartz-mill twelve hours on and twelve off, at last climbed over the mountains, and turned up in San Francisco with a quarter-dollar in his pocket. He went to sawing wood, chopping wood, and working in a sawmill. He was there at work when the Civil War broke out. He wanted more pioneering. He enlisted in the First California Cavalry, therefore; campaigned through southern California, Arizona, and New Mexico; scrambled up through the ranks to a lieutenancy; at last, after three years of service, started staging back eastward, home over the old Santa Fé trail, and, the 1st of July, 1864, got back to Harvard—not Harvard College, but Harvard, Illinois. He was twenty-two years of age, and from four years of pioneering he had acquired one dollar and eighty cents in material assets. But he had acquired other assets.

Poets are pioneers if they are great poets. Great artists, great litterateurs, are pioneers, for art and literature are but flowers discerned in the dark and plucked fearlessly therefrom. All creators are pioneers, great in the measure that they direct their vagabondage aright. There is an attribute in the temperament of the pioneer that is precious to the world—something compounded of courage, self-reliance, energy, and concentration that develops the great scientist as well as the great soldier; it is essential to great art—every artist ought to be by nature a vagabond with a purpose; it is essential to business—every business man should want the spirit of marching on.

In Arizona Corporal Ayer wanted pioneering when he set out with fifteen men under him to guard a mine from hostile Indians. At that mine one could have judged him by the needs of his inquiring mind—by his curiosity. One can judge any man, in fact, by his curiosity. He poked and pioneered about for something undiscovered until he struck upon Prescott's "Conquest of Mexico." He had to go all the way across the continent and half-way back again to discover Prescott's "Conquest of Mexico." When he got back to Harvard, he had read this history twice, and he was endeavoring, it is said, zealously to find opportunity to read it fifty times. His father gave him a third-interest in a store, and from Harvard sent him into Chicago one day to buy dry goods. He returned with Prescott's "Conquest of Mexico."

"I was going down Lake Street," he explained one evening to a friend (and this friend passed the story, but with Mr. Ayer *incognito*, on to The Outlook once before), "and I

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came to a sign—'Cobb & Pritchard.' The sign hung over a bookstore, and in the front window of the bookstore I saw an edition of Prescott's 'Mexico.'"

He turned, with real love of books as books, to describe the edition while his auto leaped ahead—it was Lippincott's edition in three volumes. He went on:

"I asked the price. 'Seventeen fifty,' said the tall proprietor. I said I would take one volume. He shook his head. He wouldn't come down, and I couldn't climb up. I handled the volumes, and my mind worked up to the price. I thought that I might buy them all and pay for one volume at a time. 'My name's Edward Ayer,' I told him. 'I've been in the service. I want that set. I haven't enough money to buy it. My father has given me a third interest in a dry goods store in Harvard. I will come to Chicago every month to buy goods; and, if you will let me have the first volume to take home with me, I will give you three and a half dollars, which is all I have. And I will pay you each month till I pay all the seventeen dollars and fifty cents.' He said: 'Young man, you take those three volumes home at once.' He was just a dear! I didn't touch the earth except the high places on the way home."

From that time, one learns, the young pioneer prospered, and his prospering was measured by the number of books he bought. He went on the road; he set up as a contractor for railway ties, telegraph poles. He was prosperous forty years ago, when he had fifteen hundred volumes.

He gives Prescott credit for inspiring and directing him to good books. He concluded to start at the beginning, and so read Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," and was greatly interested in Mohammed; got especially interested in "The Conquest of Granada," and that got him to Columbus, and Columbus introduced him auspiciously to Ferdinand and Isabella, and they passed him on to Charles V, and Charles to Philip II, and Philip to the great wars, to England, the Armada, de Palma, and so on. He got interested in the literature of England; then he managed to acquire Scott, Bulwer-Lytton, Charles Reade, the essayists, and the poets. He had many books, and he was ambitious to get more.

This desirable citizen is a very modest citizen, even though a very enthusiastic one. He had to be taken on the wing, and he rose to wing very quickly when his first biographer hove in sight. "You are too modest, Mr. Ayer," he is told; "you must remember that two modesties make an immodesty." He laughs, steadies his blue eyes, scratches his beard doubtfully. He insists that all he has done has been selfish; he is told that he has a duty—to tell other men, especially young men, how to enrich their lives.

"I'm just a business man," he insists. "I just go after these antiques and books because I love them. . . . If a man doesn't leave a little for those who come after him that can educate, he's a pretty poor type of man, indeed. . . ."

He lapses back to art again. It was pointed out that art, even with a large "T" and a small "a," is all very fine for glory's sake, but not of much consequence for anything else unless it has influence on mankind. He tries resolutely not to commit himself, and he can't get out of the moving automobile if he tries.

". . . I'm getting more out of it than Chicago. I tell you no man ever spent a portion of his time co-operating with historical societies, museums, schools, and art institutes that he didn't get ten times as much for himself as he gives his city. I have not done much of any account, but I owe an enormous amount to the city of Chicago and to the splendid galaxy of citizens who maintain its orchestra, museums, and schools, and are making Chicago the student city of America."

He insists that Chicago is the student city of America; he insists that Chicago citizens, civically at least, are the most proud; and, to illustrate, he explains that, in donations from ten dollars to ten thousand, they have raised fourteen hundred thousand dollars to build Orchestra Hall and to foster the Thomas Orchestra. Then he turns to describe, with all the pride of an eager patron, the great crescent of educational institutions stretching from Lake Forest University along Lake Michigan to the Field Museum—almost a score of them—that teach, in addition to the students the public schools teach, more than thirty-six thousand. His enthusiasm is infectious.

One begins to understand, in fact, why in his office, looking out on the gray reach of the lake and on the great arc of the breakwater that promises a vast playground esplanade with a great museum at either end of it, looking down on Michigan Avenue with its slippery sluiceway of automobiles and its

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pedestrians crossing to the Art Museum or Orchestra Hall, this timberman does business with such enthusiasm, even at seventy-three, when his office is directed by others than he. He carries into his work the enthusiasm that he gains from contact with the city builders and from pioneering-with-a-purpose all over the world. He turns his pleasure to his profit. He uses the allurement of art and the antique to help his business as well as to help his community.

Appreciation of art and the antique is a simple enough thing—one readily understands the joy in such appreciation. But few business men understand why any man with enthusiasm and liberal means should go rummaging the world after bits of art and "bunches of dusty antiquities."

"These things are useful," Mr. Ayer says, "practically—just as useful as history. They call attention to historical time and place. They are of interest to others. They satisfy a natural craving for beautiful things, and add to the enjoyment of others."

He dwells on adding to the enjoyment of others. He has come to feel, in fact, what great men discover early in life and nearly all men suspect sometime in life—that helping others, helping one's community, is all that ultimately is worth while.

So he keeps on pioneering, keeping ahead of the years. Every year, as regularly as F. Hopkinson Smith, he goes to Europe to paint and returns to America to write; between the first and fourteenth of February, with Mrs. Ayer, he crosses over, gets into his French automobile, and travels till the first of June, when he returns to America again. Always with Mrs. Ayer, he has thus gone abroad twenty-seven times. He has traveled in Africa and Europe during the last eleven years with his automobile more than sixty-five thousand miles, and in America ninety-seven thousand, in addition to more than a million miles by rail and water during his life. There is historical method in his meanderings. To illustrate, one year the Ayers went to Hippo, Algiers, and took up the long-lost trail of St. Augustine. They followed him from Hippo, where he was a wonderful child, to Carthage, where he misbehaved; to Rome, where he taught and misbehaved still more; at last to Milan, where St. Ambrose made a saint of him. In the same manner they have followed St. Francis of Assisi, Joan of Arc, William the Conqueror, and even old Sancho himself. From her meanderings Mrs. Ayer has drawn material for a travel book on northern Africa. She has also translated for Mr. Ayer (some years since) Benevides's "History of New Mexico," written in 1630, and Millet's "Captivity" (1680). And Mr. Ayer has brought back precious stores for the Chicago museums and a Chicago library.

He is merely trying to satisfy his ruling passion, he says, to leave for the children who follow a better chance. This passion Prescott's "Conquest of Mexico" implanted in him—that and long days and nights under the open sky, operating frontier sawmills, striking through frontier forests, climbing up and down frontier mountain-sides. He learned of the vast sources of nature, and now he wants museums to teach and testify of them, to show young men and old men how to enrich their lives by studying history and all its multiform expressions, not the least of which is art.

"We all need beautiful things in our lives," he says; "and what chance have our children to get all there is to be had from life if they are not ever taught what makes the soil that they walk on black?"

He thinks that all children, and all fathers and mothers of children, should not only love art, but should know some natural history—zoölogy, botany, anthropology, and geology. That is why during the seven years when he was the first President of the Field Museum of Natural History, and since as Chairman of the Administration Committee, he has devoted much of his time to the Museum. At its start he presented to the Museum his great collection of Indian paraphernalia that he had spent twenty years in getting together, and his ornithological library, consisting of four hundred and fifty volumes of colored plates of birds. He was Chairman of the Collection Committee before the Museum was founded, and since, during visits to Europe, he has purchased the entire Egyptian collection, most of the Etruscan collection, all of the original Italian bronze, and has selected all the reproduced Pompeian bronze. The guards see Mr. Ayer at the Museum three or four times each week when he is in Chicago. He has added much to the tremendous store of precious things packed in the vast storehouse that was the Fine Arts Building of the World's Fair and is the Field Museum of Natural History, which, before many months have passed, will find a home in an inspiring building on the lake front.

He is one of the trustees of the Art

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Institute. He has been a director of the Historical Society for twenty years, President of the Archæological Society, a member of the Missouri and Wisconsin Historical Societies, and of several clubs, not the least significant of which is the Chicago Commercial Club, which boasts its right to exist because of the city planning that it does. He was also a director and has been for twenty years one of the advisers of the Newberry Library, which as a reference library is quite as well known as the Crerar Library is known as a scientific library.

This lumberman explains enthusiastically while making the rounds of the Field Museum: "One can know, after a trip through a museum like this, the social life of the American Indian as well as one can know the social life of an aunt after rummaging from her kitchen to her cupola. Come over here. Now look at these Peruvian pottery jars with portraits. Now don't you know that fellow? Why, you've seen him downtown. His name is ——. He's one of the village wise men. And don't you know that scribe, and that fellow, and that? I know them as well as if they went autoing with me yesterday. We're friends."

He never wearies of things that are fine. When abroad the first time, in Florence, while Mrs. Ayer was suffering from typhoid, Mr. Ayer, in three months, went through the three art galleries just seventy-two times. One cannot put by the anomaly of this business man waxing with fine discernment and unmitigated enthusiasm over collections of Back China and Tibetan, over a collection of African jewels that he himself gathered, chatting easily all the while about the Dashir pyramids, about Egyptian bronzes, about the Etruscan collection, and the six hundred and fifty falls of meteorites—thirty to fifty more than are owned by any other museum in the world. Mr. Ayer has collected personally illuminated manuscripts, Korans, Persian manuscripts, laces, furniture, porcelains, lusters, pewters, embroidery stuffs, Navajo, Mexican, Algerian, and Tunisian blankets, and much else. He pauses to explain what the N. W. Harris Fund of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars is accomplishing, with its miniature museums traveling by auto from the central museum, for thousands of school-children. Then he leaps away to reminiscence about speckled trout in Western brooks, and points out the wonderful effects the museum has been able to get by using stippled glass to suggest water about mounted fish. He eulogizes Akeley, whom he designates as the Michael Angelo of the animals, and he points out the accuracy of detail with which this taxidermist represents the flexures of the animal muscles and the very outlines of the veins under the tight skins. He makes a college man feel, indeed, that whoever first said that a college education is necessary to finer appreciation and more accurate thinking must himself have been a college man.

His mind and judgment, in fact, are fairly unerring. His friends call him "the natural-born collector." He has gone into curio shops all over the world, and yet it is said that nowhere, not even in Egypt, which he knew so little of, has he been deceived. Nevertheless, his whole training was started more than fifty years ago by no more than an accidental peep into Prescott's "Conquest of Mexico."

He is asked how any young man can come to a love such as he has for art.

"I should tell him," he said, "deliberately to go into the Art Institute an hour a week —make it a duty."

"And study?"

"No; just look at the pictures and get familiar with them. He can't help learning to love them. . . . If I had a boy, I should insist on his going to a natural history museum, too."

"And study?"

"Yes; I should ask him to do some studying. You don't have to study pictures to learn to like them, but you must study geology, anthropology, botany, and history. Think what a man misses if he doesn't know some of those things!"

"And books?"

"He should get them, handle them; he will learn to like them."

He takes one to the Newberry Library at last. To this library a few years ago he gave his entire collection, and it is now being used extensively and is actually making history, for from its manuscripts and records more than one historian, and numerous college students as well, have gathered information never generally known before. In the two "Ayer rooms" one finds an immense number of interesting things: 17,000 volumes of printed books and 4,000 separate manuscripts, some of them volumes; thousands of printed maps; 300 manuscripts; 2,625 portraits or drawings by artists in the field; 390 prints; 9,770 photographs, includ-

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ing 8,000 of "The Pictorial History of the Philippines," in which a short history of each of the thirty-eight linguistic groups is given, and each photograph is described by Dean Worcester, the scientist member of the Philippine Commission for so many years; ten volumes and nine single sheets of Portulana.

There are 16 editions and different works of John Smith; 22 editions of Hennepin; 20 editions of Jonathan Carver; 53 editions of Las Casas; every early edition of Champlain; every early edition of Lescarbot; every early edition of Sagard; about 3,000 volumes in the Indian languages, covering 220 tribes in America, 38 in the Philippines, 1 in the Sandwich Islands; the finest set of Ptolemy known—60 volumes, including 5 in manuscript; one of the great collections of Ortelius and Apianus; and general geographical atlases. His Jesuit Relations are very near the top, consisting of 38 out of the 41 Cremaisi in original editions; the 26 Gilmary Shea; the 8 O'Callaghan; all of the Margry; the Cleveland edition, over 70 volumes; the Quebec edition; and many manuscripts; also 100 Mexican pictographs on maguey paper and leather.

The library is rich also in early and first editions on all parts of North America, pertaining especially to Indian history, and has 351 titles of Captivities; 1,260 of the 2,625 portraits and drawings are crayons by Burbank; 400 are by Waldeck; 50 by Carl Bodmer; 250 are lead-pencil portraits by Catlin, with a short biography of each.

At last one turns to a carefully tooled group of books—three of them—in red binding.

Mr. Ayer smiled. He forgot for the minute to mention that he has had for two years two men copying manuscripts in far-away Seville and Jerez about the Spanish occupation. He told affectionately how he took these three volumes to Binder Zaehnsdorf and said he wanted the best Grolieresque bindings for them that money could buy. "What's the joke?" the famous Englishman asked. "It's No. 1 and 2 and 3 in my library," Mr. Ayer says he replied; "it's Prescott's 'Conquest of Mexico.' It's the corner-stone of my life."

MY IMMIGRANT NEIGHBORS

BY GERTRUDE BARNUM

II—AN ARTIST IN A MACHINE-MADE WORLD

MY first sight of Henri d'Autremot was in the entrance hall of a settlement house. A sensitive-featured, handsome man, small, nervous, dressed in threadbare trousers and a rusty Prince Albert coat, he stood, elaborately bowing. His head was large, his eyes glowed darkly, and black eyebrows contrasted sharply with the snow white of his full, silky, longish hair.

In reply to a question as to what he wished, he was dramatic.

"I wish to ask—but no, I wish to *demand* work, mad'moiselle," he said.

Asked what kind of work, he replied:

"By trade I am a cabinetmaker, wood-carver—" Then, dashing first at the hall hat-rack, next at a small chair, he shook them in turn with fury.

"Thees," he cried, "and thees! Here you see the articles of beauty (?) which rob me of my art, my livelihood!"

Scornfully his shapely hands twirled, to imitate the curlicues and knobs decorating the hat-rack. "Cheap!" he sneered. "But no, not even cheap, *en fin*. See!" he indicated a loose round in the chair. "It is costly; they fall apart."

"You are a hand-worker, then?"

"In the past, yes. Now I beg for work in a machine-made world—in vain!"

Very soon this unique Frenchman had captivated us, one and all, at the settlement, and we brought ourselves and our friends to the verge of bankruptcy with orders for specimens of his handicraft: clock cases with tiny doors opening with a spring to disclose key shelves, *secrétaires* with surprising compartments, hall chairs, hat-trees, box-tables—all of exquisite workmanship and artistic design.

"What matter," said we, "that they are shockingly expensive! It is worth the money,

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if only to see the change in Henri d'Autremot." For the burning thirst vanished from his eyes, the sunken cheeks filled out, the bitter droop lifted from his lips, and a contagious happiness supplanted the despair which had been so evident at his first appearance. There was, however, a limit to our resources, and gradually orders for this protégé of ours narrowed down to such humble tasks as furniture-polishing, which we felt was humiliating to a skilled craftsman. D'Autremot's face spoke volumes as our friends offered him such drudgery. He would hesitate—"Madame would not perhaps desire a petite cabinet? I should carry the style of madame's drawing-room. Or an elegant case for *bijouterie?* I shall make you a secret drawer." These suggestions failing, he would sigh deeply and, as a favor to madame, would undertake the furniture-polishing.

With such work, there were always unconscionable delays, most trying to the patience. It would remain half-finished while the Frenchman took vacations to fashion gifts for his favorite settlement resident—an odd slipper box, embossed, a carved pear-wood photograph frame, a flower-stand of rare grace. And it became still further embarrassing when we saw that our artist was growing enamored of the object of these attentions. His sentiment was purely unselfish—he asked and hoped for nothing more than the privilege of serving—but there came a time when we were obliged to find relief from this complicated state of affairs.

Fortunately, at last a position was found for M. d'Autremot in a piano factory in a remote town, and this position was accepted gratefully and with good grace. Being quick-witted, our friend had long suspected that orders for his work were more and more forced; being sensitive, he was beginning to realize that the object of his affection was much troubled by his poverty and humiliation. So he took his departure spiritedly, after presenting us all with delightful souvenirs. And we breathed freely once again.

To our great satisfaction, we were soon assured that all was well with him. And to his special lady he wrote as follows:

"Since I feel your tender heart remains sad with imagination of misfortune to myself, I take pleasure to inform you the reward my talents and long starving now receive. The poor cabinetmaker has come to his heart's desire, to be permitted hand-work. Here in this pianos factorie you shall be informed are fine cases for the musical instruments. So rich have I become from my work that I am changed in fortune. Do you perceive d'Autremot, the proletarian, residing in an opera building? My building, which was formerly an opera-house, is now apartments. It is not everywhere one finds so fine architecture! I have in this apartment boudoir, reception, buffet, studio. Is it not that I have earned so commodious living by devote myself always to art?

"Mad'moiselle has no longer to make herself anxious for me. I have great heart now to convey balm to her soft feelings."

For nearly two years came such letters and other tokens of affectionate consideration. Now a pressed nosegay, now a bit of hand-work. The letters always were cheerful—quaint sketches of village characters, descriptions of the landscape in changing seasons, as seen from his window. "Almost like a dream," he wrote.

Finally, one day there came a small satin-wood box inlaid with charming designs in bits of mahogany. Under a sliding lid first was disclosed a pressed rose, next the chrysalis of a butterfly; beneath lay a fragrant note:

"This morning before the aurora has formed, yes, long before—I realize that I am waiting on my bed now for the kind Death. This, which I inclose, I have kept it in my sanctuary for long, and have decide now is the time come to send it, as the very spirit of one dearly remembering you. I pray you efface forever the trouble for me. My soul, like the butterfly, finds liberation. The little flower will say to you, 'I expire, and on this final moment I desire to be caressed by a true and gentle heart.'

"This will go to you only after I lie in the beautiful earth, which always I have clasped as a mother. I beg you will not come to see me conquered in flesh, but will commune with my free spirit which greets you. Adieu,

"HENRI D'AUTREMOT."

Later we learned the facts of the last days and the death of the great-hearted artist. And we knew that he had drawn upon his imagination for all the pictures which had brought us cheer. We found that his apartment—"boudoir, reception, buffet, studio"—had consisted of one shabby room whose cracked window faced directly against an opposite brick wall. His work at the factory had been piano-polishing,

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which he had done intermittently, and which therefore had brought him a very meager wage. The quaint village characters he had described had been entirely fictitious, for he lived alone and aloof, spending all his spare time in the indulgence of his art cravings.

"He wuz kinda crazy," his former landlady declared. "He owed us money, but he kep' on buyin' tools and colorin' stuff. He usta hev fancy match-safes an' brackets an' such truck all 'roun' the room. We took 'em, after, fer the rent. He sure wuz kinda crazy."

And so, broken upon its wheels, Henri d'Autremot had been thrown away by a "machine-made world."

THE WAR-INDUCED ECONOMY

ANTE-BELLUM EXTRAVAGANCE IN AMERICA. THE INCREASE OF LOANS MORE RAPID THAN THAT OF NATIONAL WEALTH. THE NECESSITY FOR AND BENEFITS OF RETRENCHMENT. CAN THRIFT AND SIMPLICITY BE MADE FASHIONABLE?

BY THEODORE H. PRICE

AUGUST—1915
Although war's vulture wings spread wide,
And there is grief and there is pain,
Triumphant over time and tide
The eternal verities remain;
Above the holocausts of slain
This dream celestial hovers still,—
Out of all woeful loss some gain
Wrought by the great consoling Will!
—*Clinton Scollard, in the New York Evening Sun.*

THE war has now lasted over a year, and we are still in ignorance of its cause or unable to see how it will be ended. During this long year, those of us who believe that some good must result from everything have frequently had our optimism subjected to a heavy strain, to meet which we have sometimes been compelled to draw hopefully on an imaginary future.

Latterly, however, our confidence in the blessings of adversity has been renewed as we notice the world-wide economy that the war has induced.

If we were living in the early part of the nineteenth century, when, as Dr. Lyman Abbott says in his "Reminiscences," it was generally believed that the Bible was dictated by God to amanuenses and was wholly free from error, we should doubtless conclude that the war was a divinely ordained punishment visited upon the world for extravagance, and that the economy already noticeable was the first sign of "fruits meet for repentance."

But whether we believe in the providential control of human affairs or not, we must admit that the extravagance in personal, corporate, and political expenditure which preceded the war helped to make it possible, and that one of its consequences will be a return to the frugality and self-restraint that makes for character and happiness.

It is not necessary to go very far back for comparisons which will bring into relief the extravagance of the era which may be said to have ended in August, 1914.

It commenced with the trade expansion which followed the Spanish-American and the Boer Wars.

Those two events seem to have brought the people of the United States and England to a new appreciation of their commercial power, and the financial forces of both nations were forthwith mobilized on a scale previously undreamed of.

At about the same time it was discovered that property hitherto inconvertible could be made readily convertible by transmuting it into the shares of the consolidations miscalled "trusts," and concurrently it became necessary greatly to enlarge the capacity of the world's financial institutions to provide the credit subtending this capitalization and expansion.

It is impossible to give figures that will make every phase of this process clear, but some idea of its rapidity may be had from the comparison outlined in the table at the top of the next page.

From these figures those who are old enough to make a comparison from memory between the cost of living and providing for the demands of a family in 1893 and now, may come to understand why the war is a blessing in disguise if it will check the ex-

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	1893	1913	Inc. Per cent
Bank clearings New York for year	$31,261,037,730	$94,634,281,984	203
Deposits New York Clearing-House banks December 31	$397,979,100	$1,769,766,000	345
Loans New York Clearing-House banks December 31	$413,650,400	$1,902,376,000	360
Deposits in all the joint-stock banks of England (including the Bank of England)	£368,663,000	£805,352,000	118
Loans in all the joint-stock banks of England (including Bank of England) March 31	£269,507,000	£539,800,000	100
Deposits in all National banks U. S	$1,573,700,000	$7,096,700,000	351
Loans of all National banks U. S	$1,830,600,000	$6,168,500,000	237
Par value stocks listed on New York Stock Exchange	$4,362,803,700	$14,179,111,725	325
Exports from United States	$847,665,194	$2,465,884,150	190
Imports into United States	$866,400,922	$1,813,008,234	109
Gross revenue American railways	$1,370,401,489	$3,193,856,332	133
Annual expenses United States Government	$492,324,027	$967,737,355	96
National wealth of United States	$70,000,000,000	$187,000,000,000	167

travagance against which they have impotently protested.

In the twenty years ending with 1913 the loans of the New York banks increased 360 per cent, and those of all the National banks 237 per cent, while the National wealth increased only 167 per cent, of which increase a large portion is represented by the higher value at which farm property is now appraised.

In the same period the total par value of the stocks listed on the New York Stock Exchange has increased 325 per cent, and the increase for the entire country is probably greater.

It is thus clear that the credit expansion of the Nation has entirely outstripped the increase in wealth.

In other words, we have learned how to put our property in negotiable shape and then to borrow on it.

The increase in the loans on life insurance policies, of which the life insurance companies are complaining so bitterly, is but one evidence of the American tendency in this direction, and the municipal borrowing that has put Nashville, Tennessee, in the hands of a receiver and threatens to bankrupt some larger cities, is another.

During this same twenty years a number of men previously unheard of have become "multi-millionaires," which word is described as "recent" in the Standard Dictionary published in 1900.

The creation of the United States Steel Corporation produced the first group of these newly rich individuals, and oil and automobiles, tobacco and ten-cent stores, the mail-order business and trolley cars, drug-stores and five-cent magazines, hydro-electric plants, and, finally, war material, have made so many men inordinately rich that the influence of their lavish expenditure has distinctly affected American thought and life, and habituated many to luxuries that few can afford.

The expensive hotel, of which the Waldorf, opened in 1892, was the first example, is largely due to the creation of these great and exotic fortunes. Now hardly any important American city is without one or more of these glittering hostelries where people of modest incomes, who ought to be in their homes a few blocks away, spend more than they should for the privilege of eating in public and dancing between courses for the entertainment of the onlookers.

In many other directions the same influence is at work. We try to send our children to fashionable and expensive schools and colleges, and endeavor to deceive ourselves and others by saying that we do so that they may make "desirable friends," which in most cases is a euphemism for the children of the rich.

We wear unnecessarily expensive clothes. We give entertainments that are costly rather than enjoyable. We ride in cabs when we should walk or go in the street cars, and keep automobiles when we can't afford them. We smoke imported cigars rather than a pipe, and travel in Pullman cars when the ordinary coaches are just as comfortable. All because we lack the moral courage to admit that we have less money than our neighbor.

It is probably true that a higher quality of moral courage is required in America than elsewhere to resist successfully the subtle temptation to extravagance. The Republic

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is founded upon the declaration that "all men are created equal" and endowed with an "inalienable right to the pursuit of happiness." None of us quite believe this, for we know that we are the superiors of many, but we hesitate to admit our inferiority to any, especially in the matter of buying what we think others expect us to purchase.

If the average American was ever taught to

"Consult your means, avoid the tempter's wiles,
Shun grinning hosts of unreceipted files,
Let Heaven-eyed prudence battle with desire,
And win the victory, tho' it be through fire,"

he has entirely forgotten the advice within the last twenty years.

Most of us have been living well up to, if not in excess of, our incomes, and to balance our books have been compelled to use hope rather than arithmetic. In our personal accounts, as well as in those of the firms and corporations with which we are identified and the political communities of which we are members, we have permitted ourselves to capitalize the future and borrow upon the securities so created.

The result is that loans have expanded at a rate much in excess of that at which the National wealth has increased.

The same facility in borrowing from the future has been acquired in Europe and has made the war possible.

German "preparedness" would have been impossible if the Imperial Government had not been able to borrow from the future the huge sums that were necessary to equip the army and navy.

The fighting could not have lasted a month if the credit machinery of England had not made it practicable to convert the accumulated wealth of generations into bank credits. The struggle must come to an end when this conversion becomes impossible.

How much longer the process can continue no one can say, but signs of exhaustion are already to be seen.

The leaders of the English Government, from Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Asquith down, are importunately urging the practice of economy on the English people. Elsewhere in Europe such appeals are unnecessary, for economy is a condition of existence.

In England the Parliamentary War Savings Committee has made an appeal to men and women to economize as they never did before, and to stop every form of extravagance. It asks for pledges to abstain from any and all things that are luxuries. H. E. Morgan, one of the active members of the committee, advocates pledges to suit different phases of society. One would be for domestic servants to refrain from extravagance in the kitchen.

Another would be to give up the use of motor cars for private purposes or the use of restaurants for any purpose whatever. Mr. Morgan laid stress on the necessity of ignoring new fashions and wearing clothing until it was worn out.

"Half the income of the nation to-day," said Mr. Morgan, "is held by two million people, and the other half by forty-three million. We want the first two million, but I hope the scheme may lead to the adoption of pledges in all grades of life. We attack the motor cars first, because they are the greatest factors in advertising wealth and comfort. Motor cars show luxury. This is not the time for any ostentation."

Chancellor of the Exchequer McKenna, addressing Parliament, said:

> It is economy that we need in order to maintain our credit. . . . It is vital that every effort should be made to save at the present time. . . . We must convince the public that personal extravagance must be avoided during the war. . . . Now is the golden time for saving.

The London "Times" thus exhorts individual economy:

> Let us economize, reduce our consumption, especially of articles which must be imported; eat less meat and bread, grow and eat vegetables, smoke less tobacco, use less petrol. These are only examples of how every one can economize, as we are certainly not economizing at the present time. To many men, and even to those in authority, the effects which can be produced by self-denial may seem negligible. No greater mistake could be made. . . . Measures ought to be taken to encourage savings among those classes who are prospering now, but who are bound, unless they save, to drink the waters of affliction in the dark days of depression hereafter.

A Woman's War Economy League has been formed in London under the leadership of the most fashionable and aristocratic women in society.

The object is to help the Government in the present national crisis by urging the women of the country to pledge themselves to certain definite restrictions on their expenditure during the war.

"The women of England," the promoters

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of the League say, "have it in their power, by their efforts at home, to help in winning the victory which our brave men are contending for in France. We know that the victory we pray for depends upon our willingness to bear privation and to practice self-denial, and we feel assured that those who have not scrupled to send their dearest to fight will be ready to save every penny to crown their fighting with success. The example must be set by those who have the widest margin of the unessentials of life."

The members of the new League pledge themselves—

To reduce in every way possible the expenditure on imported goods and strictly to limit the purchase of everything that comes under the category of luxuries.

To buy as few luxurious articles of clothing as possible.

To resist all efforts to introduce new fashions.

To avoid, so far as possible, the use of motors, except for necessary or charitable purposes.

To give up all unnecessary entertaining, both at home and at restaurants; and

To restrict home consumption to the lowest possible limits.

In no case to employ men servants unless ineligible for public service.

There are many who believe that for years after the war extravagance will be restrained by law and economy made fashionable by royalty, if, indeed, royalty shall survive.

In America the influence of European example is already noticeable. Last winter was the most disastrous season the New York theaters have had in years. The purveyors of unnecessary luxuries in the United States are unanimous in reporting the poorest business they have ever experienced. The importation of diamonds, one of the surest exponents of extravagance, has fallen to a minimum. At the fashionable watering places there is but little frivolous expenditure this summer despite the enforced detention in this country of those who usually spend large sums in European travel.

At the fashionable hotels and restaurants the attendance is small, the expenditure modest, and several of them have reduced prices or have introduced the innovation of "half portions" for one person by way of attracting the economically inclined.

Doubtless all this is due in part to the sadness and sympathy with suffering that pervades the world, but it also reflects the universal tendency toward economy that is the result of European necessity and example.

In so far as America is concerned it is to be hoped that the tendency will become a habit.

The leaders of society in this country can perform a substantial service if they will encourage economy by example in every way possible. It is a mistake to believe that self-denial is painful or distressing. It mortifies a false pride, but the joy of adjusting extravagant tastes to a small income can become just as keen as that of doing anything else that is difficult. It is merely a matter of mental and emotional training.

Nearly every one of us would be better for eating less, walking more, and having fewer clothes to worry about and choose from.

If fashionable women would put the stamp of their approval upon three-course dinners of simple food, both host and guests would have better digestions and more enjoyment.

Probably it is futile to protest against extravagance in women's dress, but an article in the "Atlantic Monthly," some months since, which urged "uniforms for women" on social occasions, similar to the conventional dress suit that men wear, might be widely circulated and read with profit.

The effect of a well-organized campaign for the encouragement of economy in America might indeed be beneficial in many ways that do not at first suggest themselves. For one thing, it would undoubtedly encourage early marriages and bring domestic happiness within the reach of many young men and women for whom it is now a hope deferred because they cannot face the social isolation which a small income implies.

Then, too, it would diminish the present adulation of wealth and eagerness to be rich, and bring about a much-needed change in the idealism of American youth.

In political affairs the effect would also be felt, for, having become careful in our own expenditures, we probably would become less tolerant of wastefulness in the Government.

Most important of all, it would develop the strength of character that is always the product of self-restraint, and both the individual and the Nation would be better mentally, morally, and physically.

The war is deplorable, but it will be more deplorable if its lessons are unheeded. Of these one of the most important is the folly of extravagance and the wisdom of economy.

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THE VOICE

BY CLINTON SCOLLARD

Over the woodland's western walls
In the dawn there's a voice that calls,—

Calls some sweet inscrutable thing,
And sets my feet to wandering!

Why I fare I do not know,
Nor by what devious paths I go,

But I must up and out and away,
Vagrant, vagabond, estray,

Thrall to the voice that calls and calls
Over the woodland's western walls!

Time is but as sand in the glass
Where I loiter and where I pass;

Time is but as the thistle-drift,
Tossed on the winds that sing and shift.

More to me is the wayside flower
Than all of grandeur and all of power.

Haply I have been summoned to see
Where life's dearest treasures be!

Haply I must learn again,
Through stress and sacrifice and pain,

To know that the things of largest worth
Lie close to the throbbing heart of earth!

THE THINGS DIVINE

BY JEAN BROOKE BURT

These are the things I hold divine:
A trusting child's hand laid in mine,
Rich brown earth and wind-tossed trees,
The taste of grapes and the drone of bees,
A rhythmic gallop, long June days,
A rose-hedged lane and lovers' lays,
The welcome smile on neighbors' faces,
Cool, wide hills and open places,
Breeze-blown fields of silver rye,
The wild sweet note of a plover's cry,
Fresh spring showers and scent of box,
The soft pale tint of the garden phlox,
Lilacs blooming, a drowsy noon,
A flight of geese and an autumn moon,
Rolling meadows and storm-washed heights,
A fountain's murmur on summer nights,
A dappled fawn in the forest hush,
Simple words and the song of a thrush,
Rose-red dawns and a mate to share
With comrade soul my gypsy fare,
A waiting fire when the twilight ends,
A gallant heart and the voice of friends.

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THE NEW BOOKS

French in the Heart of America (The). By John Finley. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.50.

From an American who has lectured at the Sorbonne one expects a sympathetic account of what has affected Frenchmen in the past and in the present. This is certainly true of Dr. Finley's volume. Much of what it contains was spoken by the author in the Amphithéâtre Richelieu of the Sorbonne, and some of it at Lille, Nancy, Dijon, Lyons, Grenoble, and other French cities. Dr. Finley's purpose was "to freshen and brighten for the French the memory of what some of them had seemingly wished to forget and to visualize to them the vigorous, hopeful, achieving life that is passing before that background of Gallic venturing and praying."

That which was spoken in France will be read in America with interest, but with an especially keen interest by those who know their Parkman well. As we think of that great stretch of country from Labrador to the Lakes, and then by the Mississippi Valley to the Gulf, there comes to one a reminiscent dream of empire. This has a striking distinctness in these days of a "new democracy." And now, in time of war, anything which accentuates the heroism shown in the past by the French is also brought out the more distinctly by the heroism which the French of our day are evincing—and that with a modesty and restraint which belie the traditional opinion of the French held by many who do not know France.

The French in the heart of France may seem different from the French in the heart of America. And yet there is not much difference between Lyons and Pittsburgh, save that perhaps Pittsburgh may be somewhat dingier. Pittsburgh stands in the very heart of those French settlements where once stretched a chain of French forts. We little realize what we owe to the French foundation in America. This is sometimes called an Anglo-Saxon country, but it does not rest altogether on Anglo-Saxon foundations. One has but to turn page after page of Dr. Finley's book to realize that of those early and apparently unsuccessful labors of the French in this country many of them were labors in the rooting and grounding of a civilization which has persisted throughout the decades. The very names Detroit, Marquette, Vincennes, St. Louis, may remind us that in our own earliest days it was France more than any other country which penetrated our wildernesses and conquered them for civilization. Dr. Finley thus describes what the French did:

> Our great debt to English antecedents has obscured the fact that the great physical heritage, . . . consecrated of Gallic spirit, came, in effect, directly from the hands that won its first title, the French, into the hands of American settlers, at the moment when a "separate and individual people" were "springing into national life." . . . And when the Revolution was over and independence was won, by the aid of France let it be remembered, the only settlements . . . were three little clusters of French gathered about the forts once French, then for a few years nominally English, and then American; two thousand inhabitants at Detroit, and four thousand at Vincennes, on the Wabash, and in the hamlets along the Mississippi above the Ohio. . . . Many of the French inhabitants were not of pure blood. The French seldom took women with them into the wilderness. They were traders, trappers, and soldiers. They married Indian wives, untrammeled, as President Roosevelt says, "by the queer pride which makes a man of English stock unwilling to make a red-skinned woman his wife, though anxious enough to make her his concubine."

Dr. Finley's volume is quite as noteworthy from a standpoint of manner as it is from a standpoint of matter. He is no dry-as-dust historian, but a poet-historian, whose prose rings with a Gallic-like impulse and a truly lyric expression. For instance, he thus eulogizes La Salle:

> France had deserved well . . . had she done nothing more than to set that rugged, fearless figure in the heart of America, a perpetual foil to effeminacy and submission to softening luxury, to the arts that seek merely popularity, to drunkenness and other vices which he combated even in that wilderness, to sycophancy and demagogy—a perpetual example of the "vir" and virtue in the noblest sense in which mankind has defined them.

Dr. Finley thus describes his own task:

> It was on Champlain's cliff and beneath Cartier's Mount Royal that the unequal contest for the possession of America ended, where it began—a contest whose story, as Parkman says, in a sense demeaning his own great contribution, "would have been a history, if faults of constitution and the bigotry and folly of rulers had not dwarfed it to an episode." But if it was an episode to the New Englander, or even to Frenchmen at the distance in time at which I write, it rises to the importance of history out in that region of America where a century of unexampled fortitude needs rather an epic poet than a historian to give it its place in the world's consciousness

Statesman's Year-Book, 1915 (The). Edited by J. Scott Keltie, LL.D. The Macmillan Company, New York. $3.50.

The latest edition of this annual is welcome both because it contains the latest available information concerning the Powers now at war and because the information regarding China, Spain, Greece, and the Panama Canal Zone shows a special revision. Of course the facts about all countries included have, as usual, received official revision.

Unfolding Universe (The). By Edgar L. Heermance. The Pilgrim Press, Boston. $1.50.

This admirable work commands attention. It evinces its author as a master of all that the latest researches in physics, biology, psychology, and the history of religion have contributed to his quest for the ultimate reading of the universe. In the use of this rich material he follows the strictly inductive method essential to all valid reasoning both in science and philosophy. "We must learn the nature of the

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universe, of personality, of God, as the physicist learns the nature of radium or of negative electricity."

Thus, beginning with the physical, he finds no infinite universe, but only a finite, with neither space nor time beyond it. Physical analysis, resolving its masses into atoms, and these into electrons, mere centers of electric force, reveals it only as a power-house of inconceivably vast energy—whether intelligently controlled or not, mere physics cannot say.

Here biology comes forward to show that this mysterious energy is subject to a certain kind and degree of control. The evolution of vegetable and animal life is a record of the constant transformation of energy from inorganic to organic in the development and gradual perfecting of species, both in structure and intelligence. Yet this evolution of species is not conclusive for an intelligent direction of the process.

Of this, psychology, a subdivision of biology, has more to say. The mind of man, as biology indicates, organizes his brain as an instrument for control of his physical energies and forces in self-adjustment to his environment, and for direction and control of the energies and forces of the external world. "Mind includes vastly more than the personality of our waking moments." Its subconscious activity is continuous. It carries on all the involuntary processes of physical life. "In the market-place of the subconscious man meets other minds, influences other minds, and is influenced by them." From the fact that mind always springs from pre-existing mind we may legitimately infer its ultimate source in an inorganic cosmic mind.

Here "the presumption of psychology becomes the working hypothesis of religion"—the reality of the all-controlling cosmic mind which religious men call God, a God "who thinks, and strives, and achieves with man." In the subconscious mind man "meets his God, hears the voice of divine suggestion, enters into alliance with the universe." Time-long experience has justified the religious hypothesis no less fully than the scientific hypothesis that the world is governed by natural law. The idea of God, clarifying with the progress of our race, "has inspired the best that has been thought and written and sung and builded." Religion thus gives philosophy a working explanation of the universe by its final unfolding of the spiritual embodied in the physical. "Philosophically matter is identical with energy," the cosmic energy of the cosmic mind, the Spirit of the Universe.

In this spiritual universe, including the cosmic mind and the minds of men, religion sees the beginning of a higher social order, "the Republic of God," in which man is to find his highest development and God his fullest satisfaction. In this incomplete and still ideal universe religion proves itself the key to its meaning by practically realizing it more and more through man's co-working with God.

The masterly work thus barely outlined exhibits both the candor and the critical scrutiny required by its subject. It cannot be too warmly commended to all who are in quest of more light on "the riddle of the universe."

Penelope's Postscript. By Kate Douglas Wiggin. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.

Further and final experiences of Penelope and her friends in Old World travel, with unconventional, cheerful, and friendly talk among themselves and the people they met.

Anne of the Island. By L. M. Montgomery. The Page Company, Boston. $1.25.

Like its two predecessors in the "Anne of Green Gables" stories, this book is wholesome, friendly, and spontaneous in its fun and bits of odd character. Anne is as lovable as ever, although a little staid and altogether womanly now; but there are other children here who are quaint and amusing.

Trusts. By Joseph R. Darling. The Neale Publishing Company, New York. $1.50.

The author was for several years a special agent for the Department of Justice. He has made a thorough study of trusts, and especially of the Sherman Act. Apparently this book was written before the appointment of the Federal Trade Commission, as Mr. Darling recommends such a commission as a remedy for trust evils. In the main the book is a compendium of information and references rather than an argument or treatise.

Habits that Handicap. By Charles B. Towns. The Century Company, New York. $1.20.

Dr. Richard C. Cabot, in a preface, testifies that Mr. Towns has had great success in his methods of dealing with the victims of habit-forming drugs. He here discusses fully the menace of opium, alcohol, and tobacco, and also the preventive and remedial measures which he has found useful.

Story of Canada Blackie (The). By Anne P. L. Field. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1.

Not long ago The Outlook told briefly the story of Canada Blackie, who (as Mr. Thomas M. Osborne, the Warden of Sing Sing, says in the introduction to this book) was regarded as the most dangerous criminal in New York State, but was turned by proper treatment into a mode prisoner and trusted friend of the authorities. The story was well worth telling in full, and it is admirably told here.

Outlines of Sociology. By F. W. Blackmore and John A. Gillin. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.

An addition to the series of Social Science Text-Books, this book aims to vitalize the sub-

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ject of social life and social development. It is especially designed for text-book use, but will repay careful reading by others than students.

Political History of Slavery in the United States (The). By James Z. George. The Neale Publishing Company, New York. $3.

The author was at one time Chief Justice of the Mississippi Supreme Court and United States Senator from that State, and he served in the Confederate army. His views on war issues represent the Calhoun, ante-bellum, strict-constructionist, and States-rights beliefs. He died some eight years ago. The book now published is worth study, first, because it is a temperate and intelligent presentation of one side of a great question; and, secondly, because it includes a great deal of historical matter not generally known. There are really two books included in the volume, the first dealing with the subject indicated in the title, the second with reconstruction.

Constitutional History of the State of New York. By J. Hampden Dougherty. The Neale Publishing Company, New York. $3.

This is a new edition of a standard work. Its importance and interest at the time when the New York Constitution is being revised need not be pointed out.

THE READER'S VIEW

ANOTHER VIEW OF CALIFORNIAN OPINION ABOUT THE WAR

Having been a reader of The Outlook for many years, and having learned to respect the soundness of its judgments, the fairness and kindness of its editorial tone, and the accuracy of its contributed articles, it is with regret that I read in the August 4 issue Mr. Whelpley's article on the sentiment of the Pacific Coast toward European affairs, as it seems unsound, unkind, and inaccurate.

While the article might well be placed in a medical journal as a scientific example of the initial effect of normal and healthy conditions upon the overwrought mind of the author, the appearance of such an article in The Outlook for the purpose of reflecting to the people of this country and to those abroad the state of mind of the people on the Pacific Coast will, I fear, in a slight degree injure the good reputation and usefulness of The Outlook among those to whom the conditions are known.

The reference to the ribaldry and Pharisaism prevalent on the Coast is as offensive as it is inaccurate, and most unfair to people whose personality is typified by that of Governor Johnson, of California, and whose sentiment is summarized in his telegram to President Wilson at the time of the Lusitania disaster, popularly quoted as, "Go ahead as far as you like and we will stand behind you."

The people of the Coast, with the native and kindly impulses so common to most people enjoying the good health and strength incident to a life in the open, will excuse Mr. Whelpley on the ground of overwrought nerves incident to his recent war experiences.

I have business and family connections on the Coast and keep in reasonably close touch with its affairs, and have just returned from a two months' trip, during which I have discussed the European situation with trainmen, travelers, woodsmen, cattlemen, fruit-growers, manufacturers, engineers, architects, bankers, clubmen, and others, and I want you to know that the impressions which I received are diametrically opposite to those given by Mr. Whelpley in his article, and that the sentiment of California can be best summarized in Governor Johnson's telegram to President Wilson, of which I have already mentioned the popular quotation.

New York City. F. T. MILLER.

MORE THAN A PROTEST DEMANDED

I am merely a humble and obscure reader of your valued weekly, but I would like to make a few comments upon your issue of August 4, just received, and read in part.

The part read is one awaited with impatience for more than a week, dealing with the latest American note to Germany. To the end of the fifth paragraph your editorial seems to be strong enough, but, candidly, I am disappointed that its climax of force ends there. I was hoping for a vigorous, positive condemnation of the authorities in Washington that are practically letting slip what may be America's last opportunity to deal effectively with the fatal "might is right" doctrine that threatens to engulf the world *whether Germany wins or loses*.

With Norman Angell, whose recent articles in the "Saturday Evening Post" you are doubtless familiar with, I feel that the only vital cure for militarism is not counter-militarism—that is war—but the boycott; exactly the means you have yourselves been advocating ever since the Lusitania massacre.

The time for American *protest* was at Austria's rejection of arbitration and at Germany's invasion of Belgium. And now only, at this hour when action is called for, we offer protest. In other words, when a pistol would have answered we used no weapon at all, and now,

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when a siege-gun is called for, we use a pistol. The practical effect of the puny defense now amounts precisely to what no defense at all did in the beginning—to wit, nothing. It seems to me that we might just as well have held our peace continuously.

It may be—probably will be—that there will be no further Lusitania sort of disasters; at least none where American lives are involved. Having practically established her lawless contention by one such deed perpetrated with impunity, Germany can afford to content herself with less conspicuous outrages. But, if the matter is allowed to rest there, will not America be in the actual position of yielding *principle?* Even if no more American lives are destroyed by submarines from now till the end of the war, America will be in the position of having started a campaign against wrong and then dropped it, which practically amounts to never having started it at all.

The Lusitania account is not settled. The only way it can be settled is either by disavowment, or by a *formal* (in so many words) abandonment of the submarine policy. Some newspapers contend that all that is necessary on the part of Germany is a *practical* cessation of undersea horrors, while talking as she pleases in her notes. But surely it is *principle* that is at stake, rather even than human lives, and Germany must be made to *renounce her principles or be punished.*

Now, gentlemen, who but America has it in her power to compel the disvowal or inflict the penalty? An ultimatum, setting a time limit for answer and specifying severance of diplomatic relations as the penalty of further dickering—this is what is called for.

If the present Government at Washington is incapable of seizing the great and perhaps final opportunity of the United States in the world crisis, can you not in your potent magazine pass vigorous, just, and effective sentence on that Government, and start a campaign even now that will bring that Government to an end at the next elections, to be replaced by a Government known positively to be worthy of the Nation?

Oh for Roosevelt at the helm!

The world crisis, to my mind, overshadows all purely National issues.

HERBERT M. SCOTT.

Moundsville, West Virginia.

THE AMERICAN NOTE TO GERMANY

There seem to me to be two ugly faults in the latest note to Germany.

It has been so widely commended that I suppose from a diplomatic point of view it is all that it should be. But to me, a layman of average intelligence, used to simple, direct courses of action, it is bewildering.

The protection of the rights of neutrals, and especially the lives of American citizens on sea, I take to be the purpose of the note.

Let the note demand that with directness and determination.

But it seems to me that it exceeds and weakens its purpose by expressing friendship with Germany and begging for its co-operation in securing freedom of the seas from other Powers. What Powers? What but the Allies? It begs for the co-operation of Germany against the Allies, chiefly, by reason of the superiority of their navies, against England and France.

Now hitherto the majority of American newspapers and the majority of American people have expressed horror at the whole course of Germany since the inception of the war—horror at its violation of its solemn contract to protect the neutrality of Belgium, horror at its ruthless invasion of that peaceful country, horror at its cruel, bloody treatment of its innocent people, its women and children—and have asserted and reasserted the conviction that Germany has no respect for its own word and will break it whenever it seems to be to its interest to do so.

And this is the country the note goes out of its way to express its friendship for and whose co-operation it implores!

I declare, it staggers my simple mind.

Further, it pleads for this co-operation against those whom hitherto the American people, through their newspapers, have lauded as the defenders of right against might, the protectors of the innocent and weak against the guilty and strong, and who are fighting also for the preservation of the freedom—the individual freedom—for which America has always stood and fought, and which, finally, the Germans are fighting to crush.

I repeat, this is the country the Wilson Cabinet proclaims its regard for and whose co-operation it implores!

To me it is as if I should offer my hand in friendship to a burglar and many-times murderer and beg for his assistance in attacking a man I had hitherto regarded as my friend and eulogized for his integrity, community of ideals, his self-sacrifice and high purpose.

Then in regard to the finality of this note, for everywhere I see it spoken of as "final."

I find this story in a morning paper of Saturday, July 24, a story said to come from Washington through the International News Service:

"In one respect the note to Germany was changed in the final revision by the President last night. The words 'unfriendly act' were not retained, because this is a phrase traditionally used in all diplomacy to describe an act provocative of war. The language adopted in the final paragraph, that any repetition of such an attack as that upon the Lusitania, without notice, would, if it affected American citizens, be regarded as 'deliberately unfriendly,' although stronger than the first phrase, does not

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in diplomatic usage carry the asperity of an ultimatum."

Now it may not have been desirable to choose a phrase that must necessarily have been provocative of war, but could not one have been found that would express determination to "sever friendly relations"? I believe that is the diplomatic expression.

But this seems certain: Mr. Wilson withdrew a phrase adopted by the Cabinet because it made the note final and substituted one which, though it *sounds* very terrible (this is in the true Wilsonian vein), really means nothing definite and makes the note *not* final.

I am not surprised at the sinking of the Leelanaw.

I cannot help adding that I feel as if I were escaping from a small room whose atmosphere is enervating and depressing from its lack of oxygen into the space and invigorating air of "all out-of-doors" when I call up the picture of Theodore Roosevelt with his pre-eminent honesty, courage, and consistency.

Upper Montclair, New Jersey. HART CONWAY.

UNIVERSITY TUITION

I have read with much interest the editorial in The Outlook entitled "University Tuition." I am a college student, and I am acquainted with the work in many colleges. Therefore I wish to make serious objection to both the logic and the facts upon which this editorial is based.

The two statements which I desire to refute are: "State institutions which charge little or no tuition . . . seldom provide private dormitory accommodations, which materially lessen the cost of living at the privately controlled institutions, with their larger tuitions."

The second: "The advantages in most of our colleges and universities are likely to be proportionate to the tuition."

In regard to the first statement I maintain that private dormitories controlled by the university *do not* lessen the cost of living. I find as follows:

(*a*) Amherst.....	dormitories,	estimated	medium	$90 year
(*b*) Williams.....	"	"	"	110 "
(*c*) Brown.....	"	"	"	75 "
(*d*) Harvard.....	"	"	"	125 "
(*e*) Dartmouth...	"	"	"	115 "
(*f*) Princeton...	"	"	"	148 "

These are the so-called "privately controlled institutions, with their larger tuitions."

On the other hand, I find in the University of Missouri, where "little or no tuition" is charged, that rooms in the dormitories may be obtained at from $20 to $35 a year.

Again, to look at the universities where no dormitories are provided, I find that Purdue University states that rooms in town may be obtained from $4.50 to $6 a month, with light and heat. I know at the University of Illinois excellent rooms may be obtained for $6 a month, or $54 for the full college year. At Michigan, where there are no dormitories and where the tuition is "little or nothing," rooms may be secured at from $5 to $8 a month. In every case I find that this amounts to less than the room rent in the dormitories of privately controlled institutions.

Being a student in a State university, where but a nominal fee is charged, I shudder at the thought that I am receiving advantages in proportion to what I pay in the form of tuition.

At the University of Michigan the tuition fee is $40 a year; at Princeton the tuition fee is $175. Can you for one moment believe that the Princeton man is receiving more than thrice as many advantages as the Michigan man? At Harvard the tuition fee is $150; at the University of Illinois the fee is $24. Would you have me believe that the Harvard man is receiving six and a quarter times the advantages of the Illinois man? Purdue charges non-resident students $25 for the year; the tuition at Williams is $150. Do you think the Williams man is receiving six times as much in the way of advantages as the Purdue man?

According to your logic, the $5,000,000 which the great State of Illinois appropriated to its State University a few weeks ago is destined to be wasted, for "the advantages in most of our colleges and universities are likely to be proportionate to the tuition," and this five million will not yield any advantages.

Does the student at Princeton who pays $7 for his infirmary fee, or the Harvard man who pays $4 infirmary fee, also receive "advantages proportionate" to the Illinois man who pays $2 a year infirmary fee, or the Purdue man who pays $1 a year for the same benefits?

Go West, young man! That's what they told me, and I'm glad I did. I'm glad I went to a great Western university where "little or no" charge is made for tuition, even though the advantages I am receiving, according to your good magazine, are evidently quite meager.

MILTON G. SILVER.

Blairstown, New Jersey.

ALCOHOL AND ACCIDENT

I have just read the letter from Mr. Hugh Fox and the reply of Mr. Theiss with respect to the responsibility of alcohol for industrial accidents. Mr. Theiss exposes the sophistry of the reasoning of the Secretary of the United States Brewers' Association. A man does not have to stagger or speak incoherently to be drunk. It is not required that he drink himself into a maudlin state before he is unfit to operate dangerous machinery, or to be exposed to risks in more or less hazardous occupations. The line between sobriety and intoxication is crossed with the first ounce of alcohol introduced into the cells of the brain, which, as has been said by Burbank, is like throwing sand into the delicate mechanism of a watch. Please

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allow me to present to your readers some things that were said in Cincinnati the other day by Victor T. Noonan, Director of Safety of the State Industrial Commission of Ohio. There are two kinds of accidents, he said to a newspaper representative, mechanical and psychological. And he illustrated his meaning by pointing out that when a man comes to a railway crossing he is confronted by a sign, "Stop, Look, Listen," which serves as a warning to use care and circumspection. The locomotive is not expected to stop for the man, and if the man suffers an accident it is a psychological one, not mechanical. He had volition, a mind and will, but through inattention or bad judgment he placed himself in the way of danger. As another illustration he cited the fact that men become worried over debt, or go to work unstrung because of domestic discord, and, through no fault of the employer or defect in the machine, get hurt. This is a psychological accident. And under this head he puts all those accidents which occur because a man has been drinking. He expressly states that he does not mean drinking to excess in the common use of the term, but taking on more alcohol than the workman can "get away with," to quote his words. "The alcohol muddles his head, makes his hand tremble, and makes his footing unsteady. An accident results. It is through no defect in the machine. It is a psychological accident." "More than any other cause of accidents is drink," he said. In Ohio industries there have been eighty thousand accidents within six months, one in two hundred being fatal, and the chief cause is drink, according to the official report of the Commission.

Newport, Kentucky. T. W. RAINEY.

TEACHING RELIGION TO CHILDREN

In Dr. Abbott's article on "A Religious Revolution" he states that his grandchild seemed easily to understand him where older people heaped upon him misapprehension and criticism. I have had precisely this experience. In teaching religion to many young people and children I found that they could readily grasp such ideas as the Eternal Presence and a progressive divine revelation. I have also found that children can understand the difference between history and legend and how both can be used to convey truth. We very much underestimate the ability of children to comprehend religious doctrines. Two years ago I taught the Bible one whole winter to a class of boys twelve years of age, and I was amazed to observe how easily and sympathetically they were able to understand modern religious conceptions. Quite young children can be taught the meaning of faith, the idea of God as a real though invisible Presence, the gradual progress of mankind from lower to higher forms of truth.

I am certainly grateful for Dr. Abbott's splendid article. EDWARD C. YOUNG.

Cleveland, Ohio.

FOR WORKING-GIRLS' VACATIONS

The Working-Girls' Vacation Society appeals for money to send to the country for rest and recuperation the large number of girls who have broken down during the recent hot spell.

Owing to lack of funds the Society is unable to help them.

Most of the girls who apply earn very little and are sent free. Ten dollars will pay board and transportation for two weeks. These girls need the rest and change to fit them for their winter's work.

Checks and donations should be sent to the Treasurer, Miss Edith Bryce, 105 East Twenty-second Street, Room 416.

MRS. WILLIAM HERBERT, President.
MRS. RICHARD IRVIN, Vice-President.

Working-Girls' Vacation Society,
New York City.

TRUE NOW AS THEN

Professor W. M. Thornton, in his address at the unveiling of a statue to John Warwick Daniel, formerly United States Senator, at Lynchburg, Virginia, last May, quoted the following passage from a speech by Senator Daniel. It referred to the threat of war with Spain, then impending. A correspondent sends it to The Outlook as pertinent to the present situation:

"It is said that this means war. I deny it. I do not wish to see the American people involved in war. I look upon war as one of the greatest calamities that can befall the human race. But there is one other much greater calamity, and that is for the high public spirit of a nation to be so deadened that it can look upon plunder and pillage and murder and arson with indifference and can stifle the truth for venal considerations. It is worse than war for the public spirit of that nation to be so deadened that it hesitates or delays one instant to go forward and to do any act of high and great justice because of fear of war."

CREDIT WHERE DUE

Will you be kind enough to note in your magazine the fact that credit for the acoustics of Hill Auditorium, Ann Arbor, Michigan, a picture of which you published in a recent number, belongs to Mr. Hugh Tallant, Acoustics Engineer, New York City, and not to Professor Sabine, as was stated?

ALBERT KAHN, Architect.

Detroit, Michigan.

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BY THE WAY

Vladivostok, it is reported, is now one of the busiest ports in the world. The supplies for Russia's armies are to go through this port during the fall, and vast quantities are already arriving. To transport the cargoes across Siberia by rail, 400 locomotives and 20,000 freight cars are on their way from the United States.

Robert Mantell, actor in Shakespearean dramas, has gone into the "movies." He said recently: "I would not go so far as to say that Shakespeare is dead, but he is in a deep sleep, and while in this cataleptic state I have decided to keep abreast of the times, and therefore have gone into motion pictures. I have no fault to find with the public. They have supported me loyally these many years."

That the case against Shakespeare is not quite as doleful as Mr. Mantell makes it appear is seen in this classification by the London "Stage" of the 102 plays produced in London during 1914–1915: Shakespeare, 3; poetic drama, 2; romantic drama, 10; drama, 13; comedy-drama, 15; comedy, 10; farce, 15; melodrama, 13; musical comedy, 13; revue, 4; opera, 1; war plays, 7; French and Belgian plays, 8. It is interesting to note that of these plays fourteen were by American dramatists, one of them, "Potash and Perlmutter," leading all the plays in the number of performances.

Alma W. Richards, of the Chicago Athletic Club, by winning the National athletic decathlon at San Francisco, has become the champion all-around athlete of America.

The remains of Rouget de Lisle, the author of the "Marseillaise," were recently transferred from Choisy-le-Roi, a suburb of Paris, to the Invalides, whence it is planned that they shall later be taken to the Panthéon. The ceremonies of the transferral were deeply impressive. At the Arc de Triomphe, in the presence of President Poincaré, Premier Viviani, and the garrison of Paris, the great war hymn was sung by Mlle. Delna and M. Albers, while the body of its author rested on a gun carriage that belonged to the days of the First Empire, surrounded by a guard of honor from a regiment of engineers—the branch to which Rouget de Lisle himself belonged.

Richard K. Powers, who died recently at the age of 104, is said to have been New England's oldest citizen. He was born at Sterling, Massachusetts. He had the distinction of voting at eighty-two State elections and for twenty-one Presidents.

"International incidents" of a serious sort are so numerous nowadays that space can hardly be found for their chronicling; but one of these incidents is of the amusing kind—a controversy in New York City between German bands and Italian organ-grinders. The bands, it seems, are allowed to play at all hours; the organs are restricted to playing between 9 A.M. and 6 P.M. The organ-grinders claim that this is a breach of neutrality; the bands contend that they do not "murder sleep" like the organs, and hence are properly exempt from time restrictions. Some people say, however, that the playing of the bands at night is out of both time and tune.

"It is now a common thing for ship-yard workers in Great Britain," says "Shipping Illustrated," "to average from £10 to £15 [$50 to $75] a week in wages." Employees as well as employers, therefore, seem in the shipbuilding industry to be benefiting by the colossal expenditures for the war.

A new calendar has been proposed by the Rev. H. P. Hames, curate of All Angels' Episcopal Church, New York City, in which the radical proposal is made that all the months shall consist of twenty-eight days, with an added month to fill up the year—"Holiday" month, to come between June and July. A less radical proposition is to have all holidays fall on Monday—this in the interest of labor, so that at frequent intervals during the year there may be a Saturday half-holiday followed by two days of vacation.

Georgia's paper-shell pecan trees will soon come into heavy bearing, says a writer in the "Country Gentleman," and then Northern people will know what the real paper-shell nuts are. Some of these nuts run twenty-five to the pound, and bring fancy prices on account of their great size. "One concern in Georgia," says the writer, "has built up a direct trade with consumers in fancy pecans at a dollar a pound, or six pounds for five dollars, sent anywhere express paid."

The "American Practical Navigator, Bowditch," has been published in a revised edition by the United States Hydrographic Office, and the occasion calls for a brief biography of the author. Nathaniel Bowditch was born in Salem in 1773; was apprenticed at the age of ten to a ship chandler; attained local renown as a mathematical genius; became a seaman and a ship captain; while yet at sea received the M.A. degree from Harvard; published his "Practical Navigator" in 1801, making a science of what had previously been guesswork; was tendered the chair of mathematics at Harvard, West Point, and the University of Virginia; translated Laplace's "Mécanique Céleste;" and at his death was honored throughout the world by the half-masting of flags on the part of shipping of all nations.

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